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SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIMENSIOS OF CONFLICT INDUCED DISPLACEMENT: THE CASE OF DISPLACED PERSONS IN ADDIS ABABA

DINKU LEMESSA

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Addis Ababa University
School of Graduate Studies

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By
Dinku Lamessa
College of Social Science

Approved by Board of Examiners:

Hirut Teclefe
Advisor

Wolde-Selassie Abbute
Examiner

Tadesse Berisso
Examiner

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By
Dinku Lamessa
College of Social Science
Department of Sociology and Social Administration

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Abstract

The wars between Ethiopia and Eritrea have resulted in a great deal of horrible effects on the lives of thousands of families. Large numbers of families were destabilized and displaced from their homes in Eritrea. It is estimated that there are 1.67 million displaced persons (1991-1994) in Ethiopia. Some of these persons have been rehabilitated and reintegrated to their respective communities. But an overwhelming majority is still living in tents, *kebele* halls, grain stores, plastic shelters, and on streets. At present they are living in an untold misery. Despite the magnitude of the problems of displaced persons, there is no adequate or comprehensive information on their social and economic situation in the absence of which it is difficult to plan long-term rehabilitation programs and hence play role in the reduction of urban impoverishments and anomie. What is more, very little attention has been accorded to displacement as a social process that transforms existence, and its socio-cultural dimension has also been grossly overlooked. This research tries to address those concerns as they refer specifically to the displaced persons (commonly called the '*tefenakkai*', literally means the uprooted) in Addis Ababa with particular reference to the ones in the Mekanissa-Qorre of the Nefasilk-Lafto *Kifle ketema(KK)*. This group is the largest of the 16 other similar ones in the city. Especial emphasis is given to the situation of women and children that constitute the largest part of the displaced.

Glossary of Some Amharic and Tigrigna Terms

Areqie: strong domestic alcoholic drink

Birr: Ethiopian currency

Borko: good for nothing person

Bozene wanderer and idle person

Dergue: common name for the Provisional Military Government of Ethiopia established in 1974.

Edir: voluntary association usually for assistance of members in times of hardship.

Ekub: Voluntary economic association that contributes money from members regularly and distributes it back to members in turn.

Fagulo: residue of pressed oil-seeds used as fuel

Furno: white bread made at bakery and not at home

Injera: a flexible thin bread made of different types of grains mainly *teff*.

Injera Edir: voluntary association that contributes *injera* (see **injera**) from its members and offers to the bereaved.

Kebele: the smallest unit of government's administrative constituency

Kenda: tent (tigrigna)

Lastic bet: plastic roofed shelters

Limena: begging (as referred to as breadwinning activity).

Meteleya: shelter where the displaced persons live

Kifle Ketema: an administrative unit below the city council recently introduced in Addis Ababa's government structure

Katikala: another name for araqie (see **araqie**)

Qoshe: garbage and a place where it is disposed

Quitta: thin unleavened bread baked at home and which most of the displaced persons live on.

Shabia: Eritrean soldier or proponent of EPLF

Shellie: prostitute

Shiqela: informal temporary business usually loading & unloading

Shilito: brown bread usually baked at home (the term is used to differentiate it from the white bread (see ***furno***).

Suruba Sira: hair braiding

Tefenakai: a displaced person

Tela: homemade alcoholic drink milder than ***araqie*** (see ***araqie***)

Tsetita tibeka: a security institution established by the displaced where every able-bodied person participates in peace keeping of the encampment in turn.

Wereda: administrative unit higher than ***kebele*** in the former city administrative structure prior to February 2003 (see ***Kebele***)

Weyalla: taxi assistant who calls passengers and collects trip fee.

Woyane: member of or affiliate to the EPRDF (see Acronyms)

Yechereka bet: shelters built illegally at night and hence ***ye chereka*** [Amharic for '*in the moon*']

Acronyms

AU	African Union
AAU	Addis Ababa University
CSA	Central Statistics Authority
DASSC	Development And Social Service Commission
DPPC	Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission
EECMY	Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus
EPLF	Eritrean People Liberation Front
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
FMO	Forced Migration Organization
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
ILO	International Labor Organization
KK	Kifle Ketema
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
MOLSA	Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
ORAAMP	Office for Revision of Addis Ababa Master Plan
RRC	Relief and Rehabilitation Commission
TPLF	Tigrian People Liberation Front
UNICF	United Nations Children Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	United Nations Higher Commissioner for Refugees

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

The coerced displacement of persons within the borders of their own countries by armed conflicts, internal strife, and systematic violations of human rights has become a pervasive feature of the post-cold war era. Large number of persons are regularly turned into "refugees" within their national borders, dispossessed by their own governments and other controlling authorities, and forced into a life of destitution and indignity (Cohen and Francis, 1999: 1). Displacement is a result of natural and manmade factors that adversely affects the social, economic, emotional and psychological life of peoples. It forces people out of their physical and social environment, leading to disruption of normal life and disintegration of families (Elias, 2001:1). During displacement, people become subject to various natural and social hazards and lose control over their environments. It disrupts the health and security of peoples' lives in general and women and children in particular who constitute the majority of displaced persons in most settlements.

In situations of displacement, children are deprived of their right to proper family care and protection and are exposed to various forms of abuse and neglect. Women are out in the open to extra workload, sexual harassment and low level of living standard. This can impede the health and normal development of women and children respectively. The condition also weakens people's participation in social, economic and cultural lives leading to decreased productivity.

The displaced persons in Wereda 23 Kebele 14 are one of the largest groups of uprooted persons from Eritrea. The group is composed of:

a) Eritreans with Ethiopian descent that are displaced from Eritrea due to the 1991 civil war.
b) Ethiopians who are born and/or lived most of their life in Eritrea and displaced due to the aforementioned reason (This group constitutes the majority of the displaced community at this particular study site).

The group at present is estimated to comprise more than 3500 persons and is categorized as long-term IDPs (Internally Displaced Persons) (ZOA Refugee Care 2000). Age wise children compose the largest part of the uprooted

in this particular site followed by teenagers and young adults where the elderly make up the least of the displaced. Women are the greater part from gender point of view.

From economical point of view generally the majority of the group is unemployed while most of the children are engaged in low paying labor work and begging. The majority of children and women are engaged in the latter for subsistence.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Since the end of the Cold War, the number of refugees has declined while internally displaced populations have increased, a trend that suggests a correlation(US Committee for Refugees, *World Refugee Survey*, Washington, May 1997).As flight across international borders and the right of asylum become restricted by governments as an aspect of the post-Cold War strategic withdrawal or isolationist tendency, potential refugees join the ranks of internally displaced people. Nearly always, they suffer from conditions of insecurity and destitution, and are acutely in need of protection and assistance. The US Committee for Refugees has graphically described how internally displaced

people are often murdered, starved, raped, enslaved, arrested, tortured, forcibly conscripted, forced to provide labor, made to move repeatedly, deprived of medical care, denied identity documents and abused in other ways. Families are often torn apart, communities dispersed, people's cultures suppressed, normal support systems destroyed and affected populations forced to depend on others for the basics of survival (Ibid).

Since the beginning of 1970 Ethiopia has been facing many socio-economic disruptions resulting from both political and natural causes (Mekonnen, 1994:22). The war with neighboring Somalia has caused great devastation and flight of people from the war-affected zones towards the central parts of the two countries. In 1978 at the beginning of the conflict, hundreds of thousands turned to be "refugees" in the neighboring Djibouti and into the two warring countries (Clarke, 1986; Mekonnen, 1994). The civil strife within the country and most of all the civil war in Eritrea forced thousands to flee to the neighboring Sudan and other western countries (Mekuria, 1988:72). Besides, the escalated civil war and recurrent drought and famine intensified the disruption all over the country.

The 1991 civil war between the EPLF/TPLF and the *Dergue* regime has resulted in a great deal of horrible effects on the lives of thousands of families. Large numbers of families were destabilized and displaced from Eritrea and Ethio-Eritrean Boarder towns. At present they are living in an untold misery. Despite the magnitude of the problems of the displaced persons, there is no adequate or comprehensive information on their social and economic situation in the absence of which it is difficult to plan long-term rehabilitation programs and hence play role in the reduction of urban impoverishments and anomie.

The displaced have experienced a qualitatively different dynamic and logic for social change. A state of virtual anomie (the disintegration of norms) in its classic Durkheimian sense seems to prevail among the displaced, and there is a high degree of uncertainty and helplessness influencing the pace and direction of change.

The characterization of socio-cultural displacement as a condition of disintegration, however, does not imply that the displaced are unable to give meaning to their existence and suffering.

The rapid social change experienced by the displaced is becoming a process of alienation - of abstraction from cultural roots that give symbolic meaning to existence and exercise social control and interaction. Undoubtedly such an abstraction has social revolutionary potential; but without conducive socioeconomic conditions, the consequences may instead be antirevolutionary and counterproductive. For instance, displacement, not seriously taken care of by the concerned governmental and non-governmental organizations including the host community, may lead to the lack of peace and security in the society. The increasing number of juvenile delinquents, for example, is backed up by the majority of unemployed members of the displaced at various sites in the city.

This research to some extent identifies and examines what Cernea (1997) calls the impoverishment risks and social exclusion that comprises landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity, loss of access to common property, social disarticulation, and loss of education. The research also endeavors to analyze two major aspects of socioeconomic situation namely coping mechanism and social integration of this process.

As very little attention has been accorded to displacement as a social process that transforms existence, and its socio-cultural dimension has also been grossly overlooked, this research tries to address those concerns as they refer specifically to the displaced persons under context.

This paper does not seek to analyze the obvious causes of the 1991 civil war between the EPLF/TPLF and the *Dergue* troops, nor does it attempt to present a comprehensive assessment of the cost and impact of the war. Rather it considers the war as a catalyst of socioeconomic and cultural change. My assumption is that the processes of socio cultural change currently operating among the war displaced have been largely overlooked. If these processes are not counteracted soon, they may create serious problems for both the displaced (as individuals and as a community) and the larger society.

1.3 Research Objectives

1.3.1 General Objective

This study attempts to assess change in the socio economic life of the displaced persons under context and to examine their coping responses to it in the new area of habitation. Moreover it seeks to analyze the impacts of displacement on

the social life of the host society. Not least, searching for the psychological impacts of displacement on the displaced people is yet other interest of this research.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

1.3.2.1 To examine the impacts of displacement on women and children in particular.

1.3.2.2 To assess how individuals differentiated by age, sex and income respond to displacement.

1.3.2.3 To assess the relationship between the displaced persons and the host community, new ecological environment and the government.

1.3.2.4 To identify the specific issues, problems and needs of the displaced persons.

1.3.2.5 To contribute to the little research work and documentation done hitherto in this field.

1.4 Research Methodology

This study is based on data obtained from primary and secondary sources. The techniques used to gather information are individual interviews, participant observation and documentary research.

1.4.1 Document Analysis

This method has helped in the availing of insights into data on the relationship between the displaced persons in Addis Ababa and the community, the government and NGOs. This includes the review of literature on displaced persons in its wider context, and assessment of demographic and administrative report of governmental and non-governmental organizations.

1.4.2 Participant observation

Even though I came to know barely the study area for over five years, it is only in September 2001, when I moved to the area for residence, that I started observing seriously the life of the displaced. My one year familiarity to the neighborhood coupled with acquaintance to some of the influential people and other members in the leadership of the displaced persons, helped me to freely move among the displaced and chat with any member at any time of the day, even late at night. I have also spent a significant amount of evening hours talking to children and young adults who were coming back home after a day long roaming and begging in search of food and/or money. Though I enjoyed the walk with the children heading home, our discussion was not without difficulty as they always sought for some kind of

alms at departure. This method, however, helped me to collect data on how individual and group socioeconomic status and roles changed.

1.4.3 Key Informant Interview

The main body of information is collected through interviews conducted in 45 selected households in the settlement at Woreda 23 Kebele 14 (*Qorre*). The selection is based on what is known as snowball sampling method that utilizes acquaintances in the study area leading to informants who would fulfill criteria already set by the researcher which includes ethnic background, length of time spent in a given locality, age, sex, marital status etc.

1.4.4 Case Study

An in-depth interview with 13 individuals (depending on sex, age and income) has been conducted to obtain data on the differential effect of conflict-induced displacement on the different categories of people.

1.4.5 Interviews

Interviews were conducted with 10 persons who represent various Governmental and Non-Governmental Organizations, to mention but some EECMY-DASC, LWF, MOLSA, DPPC, GTZ, Wereda

and Kebele Offices that are directly and/or indirectly related to the research problem.

1.4.6 Household Survey

With the help of the administrative committee of the displaced, a general survey is conducted in order to gather information on demographic characteristics such as age, sex, occupation, socio-economic and ethnic background, etc. The former has also made available the statistical records at their disposal.

1.4.7 Site Selection

The study area consists of the largest number of displaced persons out of the 16 similar settlements in Addis Ababa and is referred to as Qorre in Wereda 23 Kebele 14. In the vicinity of this site there are two other camps of the displaced that constitute relatively smaller number of displaced persons. In search of diversity of experiences and proper qualitative and quantitative representativeness, therefore, the researcher opted to study this particular group of people in the site.

1.5 Literature Review

Discourse about displacement as well as population movements in general, seems limited either to spatial or economic perspectives (Ibrahim, 1985). Scholars tend to conceive of displacement as a form of geographic mobility (albeit forced) and therefore emphasize the number of displaced people, the direction of their movement, and their impact on receiving areas (including pressure on services and the impact on the market). Other contributions, for the most part impressionistic surveys by NGOs, contemplate interventions among the displaced. They focus on issues of nutrition, health, employment, housing conditions, and other manifestations of suffering. Very little attention has been accorded to displacement as a social process that transforms existence, and its socio-cultural dimension has also been grossly overlooked (Ibrahim, 1985:40).

The problems of the displaced persons have, so far, attracted limited interest from social scientists and a general epistemological approach is lacking. Most of the studies conducted on displaced persons are fragmentary and deal primarily with specific problems of settlement and adjustment to the new environment. Very little of the

available literature focuses on causes or events preceding flight. Moreover, studies that combine the flight and settlement phases or provide a holistic perspective of displacement are very rare (Mekuria, 1988:77).

Much of the research conducted hitherto in Africa addresses itself to practical problems concerning the provision of asylum and protection (Aiboni, 1978; Melander and Nobel, 1978; Melander, 1980; Nobel, 1982). In contrast to research in other parts of the world, the literature on African displaced persons emphasizes collectivities, with the individual rarely the unit of analysis. Therefore, very little information is available on the socio-economic and psychological consequences of uprootedness for African displaced persons (Mekuria, 1988:77).

Some studies of particular displacement and settlements are available. A case study of the Eritrean displaced persons (Asmerom, 1998) and the Qala en Nahal settlement in eastern Sudan (Rogge, 1975) are some examples. International humanitarian organizations and their policies of assistance are also themes of scholarly studies. Shelly Pitterman (1984) has provided a critical analysis of the determinants of UNHCR assistance policy to African displaced people.

Barbara HarrellBond (1986) has conducted a revealing study of emergency assistance to Ugandan displaced persons in southern Sudan.

With regard to conflict induced displacement in the Ethiopian context, which is the concern of this paper, only few detailed studies have been made so far that include a case Study of children displaced from Ethio-Eritrean boarder and settling in Dessie (Elias, 2001), a survey of displaced families in Ethiopia (MOLSA, 1995), urban adaptation and survival strategies (Ephrem,1998) and sustainability in post-war reconstruction and development (Mulugeta, 2000). Still some of these studies were based on observations made by official missions and consultants during short visits.

In general, most of the studies of African displaced persons give priority to practical questions; theoretical issues are not the main concern. Social science inquiries into social change and economic development among the displaced in Africa are rarely comparative (Pitterman, 1984:6). Very few researchers in this field refer to or make use of methods and experiences documented in other fields of inquiry.

Regarding the lack of interest and paucity of theory in the IDPs research I. M. Rose has this to say:

> This most sociological subject has been largely ignored by those who coined the word anomie and have devoted much attention to exploring, examining and explaining various forms of inter group and interpersonal tensions. Even those who have studied the character and consequence of forced displacement rarely have delved into the social and psychological ramifications of those affected by it (1981:11).

The lack of theory in the Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) research is attributed mainly to the perception of the problem as a localized and non-recurrent phenomenon, which does not fit neatly into distinct categories (Stein and Tomasi, 1981:6).

Different forces create different mass flights in different parts of the world. This lends a sense of uniqueness to each situation and clouds our ability to see the recurring elements in each situation (Kunz, 1973:129).

Consequently there is a general lack of sociological theory and even a problem of the conceptual clarification of displacement. Stein and Tomasi (1981:6) have pointed out that, notwithstanding the lack of theory, displacements are patterned events and there is what could be called a

displaced persons' experience, which produces what may be termed a displaced persons' behavior. Hence, these socially patterned events; experiences and behaviors can be generalized and scientifically conceptualized as distinctly consistent and predictable phenomena.

1.5.1 Internally Displaced Persons

The most widely used definition of internally displaced persons (IDPs) is one presented in a 1992 report of the secretary general of the UN, which identifies them as 'persons who have been forced to flee their homes suddenly or unexpectedly in large numbers, as a result of armed conflict, internal strife, systematic violations of human rights or natural or man-made disasters, and who are within the territory of their own country.' (http://www.first.sipri.org).

Sometimes referred to as 'internal refugees', these people are in similar need of protection and assistance as refugees but do not have the same legal and institutional support as those who have managed to cross an international border (Ibid). There is no specifically mandated body to provide assistance to IDPs, as there is with refugees. Although they are guaranteed certain basic rights under

international humanitarian law (the Geneva Conventions), ensuring these rights are secured is often the responsibility of authorities, which were responsible for their displacement in the first place, or ones that are unable or unwilling to do so. The number of IDPs around the world is estimated to have risen from 1.2 million in 1982 to 14 million in 1986 (Ibid). However, it is likely that earlier estimates are extremely low, as little systematic counting was being conducted at the time. Estimates on numbers of IDPs continue to be controversial, due to debate over definitions, and to methodological and practical problems in counting. At the end of 2001, there were estimated to be 22 million IDPs worldwide, although this is likely to be a conservative figure (Ibid).

1.5.2. Conceptual Framework

In international discussions about displacement much emphasis has been put on reaching clear and workable definitions of different categories of displaced persons. This is more than a mere semantic exercise designed to capture the flow of life in categories and standardize great diversity, thereby achieving a sense of control over an otherwise confused situation. Deciding on definitions is also a political process that informs decisions regarding

responsibilities and about legal and moral rights to protection, relief assistance, development resources, etc. As such the labeling exercise is of paramount importance to governments, UN and other relief and development agencies and displaced populations alike, whose working mandates or livelihoods are partly determined by the outcome of these negotiations (McDowell, 1996:12).

1.5.3. Types of Forced Migration

Sean Loughna of the Refugee Study Center classifies Forced Migration into three basic categories (http://www.forcedmigration.org).

1.5.3.1 Conflict Induced Displacement

People who are forced to flee their homes for one or more of the following reasons and where the state authorities are unable or unwilling to protect them: armed conflict including civil war; generalized violence; and persecution on the grounds of nationality, race, religion, political opinion or social group.

A large proportion of these displaced people will flee across international borders in search of refuge. Some of them may seek asylum under international law, whereas others may prefer to remain anonymous, perhaps fearing that

they may not be granted asylum and will be returned to the country from where they fled. Since the end of the Cold War, there has been an escalation in the number of armed conflicts around the world. Many of these more recent conflicts have been internal conflicts based on national, ethnic or religious separatist struggles. There has been a large increase in the number of refugees during this period as displacement has increasingly become a strategic tactic often used by all sides in the conflict. Since the end of the Cold War there has also been an even more dramatic increase in the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs), who currently far outnumber the world's refugee population. At the end of 2001, both types combined comprised some 36 million people worldwide (http://www.forcedmigration.org).

1.5.3.2 Development Induced Displacement

These are people who are compelled to move as a result of policies and projects implemented to supposedly enhance 'development'. Examples of this include large-scale infrastructure projects such as dams, roads, ports, airports; urban clearance initiatives; mining, deforestation and the introduction of conservation parks/reserves and biosphere projects.

Affected people usually remain within the borders of their home country. Although some are resettled, evidence clearly shows that very few of them are adequately compensated. While there are guidelines on restoration for affected populations produced by some major donors to these types of projects, such as the World Bank, there continues to be inadequate access to compensation. This tends to be the responsibility of host governments, and interventions from outside are often deemed inappropriate.

This is undoubtedly the largest global cause of displacement, although it often takes place with little recognition, support or assistance from outside the affected population. It disproportionately affects indigenous and ethnic minorities, and the urban or rural poor. It has been estimated that during the 1990s some 90 to 100 million people around the world were displaced as a result of infrastructural development projects (http://www. forcedmigration. org). It has also been reported that on average 10 million people a year are displaced by dam projects alone (Ibid).

1.5.3.3 Disaster Induced Displacement

This category includes people displaced as a result of natural disasters (floods, volcanoes, landslides, earthquakes), environmental change (deforestation, desertification, land degradation, global warming) and human-made disasters (industrial accidents, radioactivity). Clearly, there is a good deal of overlap between these different types of disaster-induced displacement. For example, the impact of floods and landslides can be greatly exacerbated by deforestation and agricultural activities.

Estimating trends and global figures on people displaced by disaster is even more disputed and problematic than for the other two categories. A 1995 report claimed that there were at least 25 million environmental refugees (http://www.forcedmigration. org). Several international organizations provide assistance to those affected by disasters, including the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, and the World Food Program.

These three categories of forced migration are often studied by different academic communities; the causes are addressed by different groups of policy-makers, donors and agencies; and the consequences addressed by different

governmental, inter-governmental and non-governmental agencies, donors and organizations. FMO (Forced Migration Organization) attempts to bring together in one place these various groups, approaches and experiences of all forms of forced migration.

The focus of this thesis is on the category of internally displaced persons due to conflict, a social category which was created to describe people living in refugee-like circumstances, but within the territory of their own country, and who are therefore primarily the responsibility of the government of that particular country.

However, Baker employs terms like 'internally displaced' or "internal refugees" and "refugees" to differentiate between categories of displaced people where the former indicates, "those who don't flee their country of origin, but often forcibly moved within, and the latter shows those who flee their country of origin (Baker, 1986). In fact, this category fits the international conventional classification of population movement. In the same way MOLSA (1997) and UNDP (1997) have used these terms for similar types of population movement.

Cernea on his part attempts to establish an exhaustive list of typology of people under circumstances of displacement (1995:45; 1996:296). His typology is based on the major types or clusters of causal agents. These are:

a) Natural environmental disasters: drought, famines floods, earthquakes, etc.;

b) War/political turmoil;

c) Persecution; ethnic racial/religious; and

d) Development policies and programs causing major changes in land/ water use (Cernea 1996).

Similarly, Zetter (1995) and Baker (1986) used terms such as internal and international refugees without getting into detailed categorization of people on the basis of causes of displacement.

Substantial difference is also sighted within the displaced persons on the basis of property loss during circumstances of displacement. According to Cernea, people either lose their houses or land in some cases or both. Such classification has practical importance with regard to economic entitlement, compensation and other rights of the victims (1996:297).

With regard to refugees, Cernea asserts "the trauma of being an internal refugee, a refugee in one's own land, is not necessarily less than being a refugee on foreign soil" (Ibid). He further adds the following to indicate the main reason for the distinction between the two categories of refugees.

The distinction between internal and trans-border refugees is consequential, however, for resource allocation and assistance strategies. While there are established internal structures mandated to assist international refugees, much less institutionalized support is available for internal refugees. The Georgetown Declaration (1988) correctly called attention to the fact that, despite the huge number of internal refugees, " at present no international agency has responsibility for ensuring the adequacy of protection and assistance, including health care, for internally displaced persons" (Cernea 1996:297).

This statement has an implication on the mandate of UNHCR, which has the responsibility of providing assistance to refugees since World War II (Baker 1995:8). But Cernea argues at the same time that an integrative approach is needed in both research model building (Cernea, 1994:294)

and assistance provision activities instead of widening the prevailing dichotomy. He has also observed that displacement would bring socio-economic disruption and multifaceted impoverishment to categories including the local communities to whom the returnees are integrated (Clark, 1986:32; Mathur, 1995:7; Hogg, 1996:161; UNDP, 1997:66; ILO, 1997:4). In this respect, concepts and terms might be used for practical as well as analytical purposes. This in turn indicates that putting clear demarcation lines and clear-cut typologies entail practical impacts on the lives of displaced people.

For analytical purposes the term internally displaced and/or the displaced will be used in this paper. The internally displaced in this context includes all those who are displaced due to the 1991 war between the EPLF/TPLF and the then *Dergue* troops of Ethiopia and are presently living as uprooted people in camps in urban areas. In this case, an individual or group might be affected by a number of caused agents at a time or through a long period of time. Thus, Cernea's impoverishment model would also be important to the Ethiopian context. Because some of the elements of impoverishment, which resulted from displacement, clearly are found among internally displaced people in our

particular situation. The other concept, which needs some treatment, is the way in which displaced people cope with social and economic life of urban areas.

The majority of IDPs live in encampments or erects their own temporary settlements. In the latter case they are known to be 'self-settled' or 'spontaneously settled' people (Waldron, 1995:40; Zetter,1996:71). Spontaneously settled displaced people have also a problem of getting support from aid agencies. As a result, they add to the multitude of the visible urban poor; including squatter settlements (1995: 42). In this respect, they face constant urban relocation which is common to all those who squat. For Cernea (1995:44), urban relocation is a subset or broader spectrum of the displacement processes. However, the history of spontaneous settlement and the concomitant relocation process has its beginnings in the 1960s and 70s for most urban centers of third world countries (Dwyer 1979; Cernea 1995). Due to rural/urban migration new forms and socio-economic structures have emerged as sprawling squatters and shanty towns in most African Urban centers (Herskovits 1958, Mair 1963, Lloyd 1967; Knoop 1971). Migrants similarly erect shelters in the form of 'squatter'

or 'spontaneous settlement' in city quarters of other parts of the world too (Dwyer 1979:3).

In the same way, currently urban centers of Africa have similar settlement structures and highly merging trends due to displacement of people from their original areas. In fact, 'spontaneous' or 'self settled' structures in urban and rural areas bring about legal issues related to land tenure and equally blur the distinction of shelters erected by the displaced and other urban destitute. Terms like *'Lastic bet'* (Plastic shelter) and *'ye chereka bet'* (cf. glossary) are names given to the different 'spontaneous settlements' in Addis Ababa. Most of the internally displaced people are living in plastic shelters in different quarters of the city.

However, we find only few materials on the situation of displaced persons in the context of urban centers. Of the literature cited, only a few have given space to issues with respect to displaced persons who have made urban areas as their destination point. Since the focus of this research is on an urban setting, the settlement situation of displaced people might bring a number of other issues within this specific context.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

The issue of displacement is not simply a question of counting the people who left their places of origin. It is also, and more significantly, a socio-economic process through which otherwise self-sufficient people become improvised, vulnerable, and in need of external assistance (El-Din & Ibrahim, 1995:38).

The socio-economic situation which displaced people find themselves in would enable us to employ the theoretical framework through which we can substantiate the overall circumstances. In this particular case we are dealing with the kind of displaced households living in an urban setting. The socio-economic context can be generalized, as Cernea (1996) states in his impoverishment model, to depict the effect of displacement on the lives of the victims. According to this impoverishment model,(Cernea 1996:13) displacement entails "multifaceted impoverishment via induced landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalization, increased morbidity, food insecurity, loss of access to common property and social disarticulation." Displaced people would share one or more of the above elements of poverty due to the socio-economic disruption they are falling into. This situation of impoverishment can

be found wherever displacement takes place. However, the socio-economic environment (context) the displaced move into might provide a different color to the overall situation. Here, the lives of displaced people in the urban context can be seen through their efforts to adapt to the socio- economic context using various survival strategies. Besides, the urban context can be seen in comparison with the rural context in a kind of dichotomy to attribute specific socio-economic behavior to the people under investigation. Here, the Wirthian model of the city (Wirth 1964) and studies by some scholars on the "socio-economic status areas" within the urban context (Baker 1998: 220) would not be refuted out of consideration in this particular discussion. However, the focus is not only on the impact of the city (as a socio-economic context) but also the interaction of human beings with one another within the given context. Therefore, the focus is on 'in the city' than 'of it' and the city might be seen as the locus rather than the focus' (Rogers and Vertovec 1995:3). Consequently, it is important to focus on the various forms of socio-economic interactions of people within the urban setting. These multifaceted interactions, implemented through various institutions, call for different models of social intercourse. Most of all, the mechanisms of socio-

economic adaptation and survival strategies could be manifested through the interaction of people within the limits of and beyond the given context.

Given their particular situation, one of the problems among all kinds of displaced peoples is the problem to adjust to a new socio-economic environment in the host society. According to Cernea (1996:304), the impact of relocation is "not only immediately disruptive and painful, it is also loaded with serious long-term risks of becoming poorer than before displacement, more vulnerable economically, and disintegrated socially." In this respect, failure to rebuild their lives and lack of adopting new mechanisms of eking out a living turn people to impoverishment and make them dependent on welfare programs. Long processes of impoverishment can also make people be "plagued by marginality and mental illness" (Markowitz, 1996). They may also "import their feeling of alienation to their children, thus creating a second generation of displaced persons" (Markowitz 1996:127). In such changing circumstance people could "modify their acquired cultural knowledge" to cope with the new socio-economic environment (Barret 1991:81). And at the same time "cultural ecological adaptations constitute creative processes" (Steward 1973:325). The

following is an observation made by an anthropologist of people who are coping with problems of adaptation to a new socio-economic environment:

> Focus on their family dynamics and interactions with fellow countrymen as well as how they represent themselves as Bosnians, Yugoslavs, I show how the persistent laying out of a natural core identity can be helpful in maintaining morale and forging group solidarity. While it is often unintended, this resolute identity maintenance aid in displaced person's adaptation to their host society (Markowitz 1996:127).

Spencer (1851) laid a profound theoretical ground in the history of anthropology, that man survives through constant processes of adaptive response in changing circumstances. To verify this argument he built this exposition on the basis of myriad of empirical facts gathered from societies living in different corners of the world. According to Spencer "all evil results from the non-adaptation of constitution to conditions" (Spencer 1851:59). Therefore,

> In virtue of essential principles of life, this non-adaptation of an organism to its conditions is ever being rectified: and modification of one or both continues until the adaptation is complete. Whatever posses vitality, from the elementary cell up to man himself, inclusive, obeys this law. We see it illustrated in the acclamation of plants, in the altered habits of domesticated animals, in the varying characteristics of our own race (Spencer 1851:60).

To Spencer the process of adaptation or the struggle to "rectify" the non-adaptation to make it suit to the existing conditions (modes of life) is timeless a process and as old as human species itself (Spencer 1851:63).

Long after Spencer, social and cultural anthropologists used adaptation as a theoretical framework to depict human adjustment and survival in changing socio-economic circumstances in different places. Spradley and David (1975:667) defined adaptation as "the process of coping with a specific physical, biological and social environment to meet the fundamental requirements for survival." Spradly and David further elaborated that:

> People everywhere use their cultural knowledge to interpret their experience and to generate action. The first and most important use of any body of cultural knowledge is human adaptation (Spradley and David 1975:607).

Here, the concept of adaptation and survival strategy would imply two interconnected processes. Adaptation is the long-term phenomenon through which (one could see the goal of man's struggle for existence while the concept survival strategies show the short-term (day-to-day) activities of man to facilitate adaptation and ensure survival in a given socio-economic, cultural, and ecological context). Thus, it

is important to identify the particular 'social field' where an individual or a group practically organize his/their cultural experience to act in a certain way in order to exploit or equally interact within a given socio-economic context. In Spencer's assertion man needs 'adaptation of constitution to conditions' to ensure 'fitness for surrounding circumstances' (Spencer 1851: 61). Therefore, in this particular context social interaction of people can be manifested through social networks and socio-economic or cultural institutions established for specific purposes (Ephrem, 1998:11).

In the urban context social networks depict the internal structure of social relations (Rogers and Steven 1995:15). The medium of this social relation can be based on the movement of 'communication' and 'material' items from one person to the other. According to Mitchell (1995:36-37) network relations enhance the transfer of information between individuals and transfer of material goods and service between people.

Personal network would include all those with whom a person interacts on an informal basis. This shows the whole system

of relations that individuals could establish for mutual advantage.

Network relations can be established on the basis of different factors and enable people to exploit different alternatives to survive within the urban context (Gutkind, 1967:158). Factors such as ethnic identity, friendship, gender, age group, former occupational background and village ties might play a crucial role in network formation. The degree of importance of these factors might differ from one socio- cultural context to the other. For instance networks can be established on the basis of different traditional values of a certain group (Ngin 1995:227-228). This in turn enables individuals of the group to adopt a certain socio-economic environment with much less stress. In the absence of traditional support systems social networks help in the new context.

In the Ethiopian context traditional voluntary associations broaden the system of social relations among urban inhabitants. Self-help associations such as *mahiber, edir* and *ekub*, are used as a means to establish a stable pattern of relations between individual members of the associations. This constant striving to establish a stable

social relation enforces the process of cultural adaptation (Ayoub 1968:249). Specifically voluntary associations provide the members with socio-economic advantage and spiritual unity in the new urban context (Mekuria 1973: 363-364; Fecadu 1974:376). R. Pankhurst and Endrias Eshete have observed the following with regard to self-help associations in Ethiopia.

> In Ethiopia, as many other parts of the world, people have evolved traditional non-governmental methods of self-help, which play an important role in the struggle of their daily life and a source of strength (Pankhust and Endrias 1958).

These self-help social associations enable newcomers to urban centers to develop a sense of belongingness and help them to develop self-confidence through mutual support system. From her study in Cairo, Abu-Lughod observed that " ... migrants to Cairo are active creators of a variety of social institutions whose major function is to protect migrants from shock of anomie." (Abu-Lughod 1961:31).

In the case of the displaced people in Addis Ababa, social network and involvement in small self-help associations insure survival and adaptation to the socio-economic, cultural and physical situation of the city. It is through

the strategy in these two spheres of activities among others that they could face the utter poverty situation that is resulted from their particular situation. The network analysis can best depict the socio-economic structure of the displaced and their struggle for economic survival and socio-cultural adaptation (Ephrem 1998:13).

1.7 Significance of the Study

1.7.1 In the face of the need for adequate and relevant literature on conflict-induced displacement this research may contribute its part to the few existing literatures and hence enables a further comparative analysis of the situation.

1.7.2 This study would contribute its share towards comprehensive information on the IDPs social and economic situation to plan long-term rehabilitation programs.

1.8 Limitation of the Study

The absence of documentation and archival systems at the site under study has played its part to deter the understanding of socio-economic process of change

experienced by the community over a period that a little exceeds a decade. On top of this the inaccessibility of official documents that happened to be owned by various governmental organizations, be it unwillingness or disorganization of documents, has also limited the enrichment of the research's analysis of social process.

1.9 Field Experience

Subsequent to the setting of criteria for site selection, I be supposed to stray in the city and its surrounding to have a glance at the seventeen displaced persons camps. Finally, the Mekanissa-Qorre settlement, the largest of all, is selected as a potential site for studying diverse and rich experience of the displaced persons. Subsequently, in view of the considerable distance between my former residence and the study area it deemed mandatory for me to dislocate my self in search of proximity to the encampment of people under context. Initially coming closer was frustrating on the basis of what I came to learn from the non-displaced community in the vicinity who complained about the settler's indecency and waywardness in this particular camp.

Gaining permit from *Kebele* officials was not a big problem in this case that I managed with in a few days of submitting cooperation letter from the academic institution of affiliation. The *Kebele* linked me to the administrative committee of the displaced person with whom I made plans of conducting my research, which was instrumental in identifying respondents against set criteria. Moreover the committee played the pivotal role of facilitating initial communications between the researcher and the people under context, which could have been difficult otherwise.

Listening to the stories of displaced respondents is one of the problem areas in data collection as it is emotionally moving with a lot of tear-jerking experiences, which may jeopardize the meticulous attention needed in data recording.

The process of data collection, on one point was on the verge of a total halt due to the chaos instigated by some misinformed settlers who subsequently spread allegation that an aid is being given to selected settlers i.e. my respondents. This came to a climax and one morning while I was conducting one of the many interviews a mob of settlers tried to forcefully enter the compound of my residence

where I chose to do the interview. After calming the crowed with the help of the administrative committee of the displaced, I explained what I am doing, its purpose and how it ought to be conducted the same way I do it with each interviewee every time. Thanks to the crowd who seemed finally convinced and hence retreated with demonstrated cooperation one way or another from that time onwards.

The other problem area with regards to data collection in the field was related to taking pictures. Most of the adult displaced persons perceive the process suspiciously while others claim for certain amount of payment. The former, as I came to understand from befriended displaced persons, take it as some sort of government survey towards relocating them or possibly a business making activity in the guise of philanthropy.

Chapter Two

Background of the Study Area and Displacement History

2.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the geographical location of the research area, demographic characteristics and its landholding system that of course would be brief due to unavailability of pertinent data particularly of the latter. The displacement history and general situation of the displaced persons, however, would get the widest space here.

2.2 Geographical Location and Ecology of the Area

2.2.1. Name of the Area as it is intertwined with its Ecology

Unlike personal names place names are usually connected to historical incidences and/or unique geographic characteristics of the places. The name Makanissa, the study area, for instance implies the once predominant vegetation type of the area namely *Bakanissa*, (Oromiffa for what is scientifically referred to as *Croton macrostachyus*

and *Bissana in Amharic)*. The *Bakanissa* tree is very common in Ethiopia usually 7 to 15 meters high but sometimes attaining considerable height in areas of high rainfall. The fruits and a decoction of the roots are used as medicine against venereal diseases and seeds are used to cause abortion (http://ip.aaas.org/tekindex.nsf).

Mekanissa, the larger geographical context in which the displaced persons dwell, is a neighborhood in the former Wereda 23 Kebele 14 and in the present Nefas-Silk Lafto Kifle Ketema according to the February 2003 administrative structure of the city. The specific location, Qorre, is also named after dwarf thorny bushes that used to prevail the vegetation cover of the area under consideration. Even the last word of the Nefas-Silk *Lafto* Kifle Ketema namely, *Lafto* also is an Oromiffa name of a common tree called Acacia that still can be seen scattered in this specific area.

Through time, the neighborhood assumed the name Mekanissa with minor alteration of the initial consonant from '*B*' to '*M*', which still depicts the root of the original name.

Presently, however, one can hardly find the aforementioned types of vegetation cover in the area, which turned out to be a residential area after presumably substantial deforestation activities. On top of this, the displaced people that settled at the area since 1994 had cleared out the vegetation cover entirely for fuel and shelter construction.

2.2.2. Location of the Study Area

According to the January 2003 restructured plan of the city, Mekanissa is located in the northwest of the Nefas Silk-Lafto Kifle Ketema bounded by Lideta and Cherkos KKs in the North, Bole KK in the northeast and Akaki-Kaliti KK in the southeast.

The size of the Nefasilk-Lafto KK is 4425 hactars comprising 22 Kebeles; 18 of which are urban while the rest are rural Kebeles (See Map 2A).

Relatively situated on a lower elevation in the city, Mekanissa enjoys a warmer temperature than the northern and western parts.

2.3 Administrative History

By 1935 Addis Ababa was divided into ten commissariat, which again changed into ten *weredas* when the municipality administration was established in 1942. Both the commissariat and *wereda* divisions had ten entities. However the 'names' and the 'locations' of the areas under both divisions were different. Bahru (1987:51) has observed that the commissariat was set up on the basis of the *safars* while the *weredas* covered much larger "territorial entities" by subsuming many *safars*. A decade after, in 1954, the city was granted a charter with the autonomy to set tax rates and charges (Mulatu *et al.*, 1990:22).

After the 1974 revolution, new administrative structures and divisions were introduced. In September 1988, Addis Ababa became a 'city state' with the inclusion of the surrounding districts, namely Akaki, Alem-Gena, Welmera, Sululta and Bereh that in aggregate consist of 381 peasant Associations. The former territory of the city then is divided into 14 *awrajas* and 284 *kebeles*(Ibid).

Since the change of government in 1991, up to 1997 Addis Ababa had six zones and 27 *weredas* and 305 urban *kebeles* and 23 rural Peasant Associations (CSA 1994:1). In 1997

the city was proclaimed for the second time to be a chartered city.

At present with the introduction of the city's new master plan, Addis Ababa has got new administrative structure as of February 2003 that divides it into 10 *Kifle Ketemas* in stead of the previous 27 *weredas* and 203 urban and rural *Kebeles* in lieu of the earlier 523 ones (See map 2A). Most of the services used to be rendered by the Municipality are delegated to the 10 *Kifle Ketema* offices to make them more authoritative than that of the previous *Wereda* offices.

The Nefas Silk-Lafto *Kifle Ketema*, an amalgamation of a previous urban, namely Nefas Silk and another rural *wereda*, i.e. Lafto, is presently divided into 13 urban and 8 rural *kebeles*. The Mekanissa-Qorre displaced persons settlement is situated in 02 *kebele* that is located in the northern part of the *Kifle Ketema*(See map 2B). The *Kebele*, approximately consists of more than 2300 households.

2.4 Land Use in the Study Area

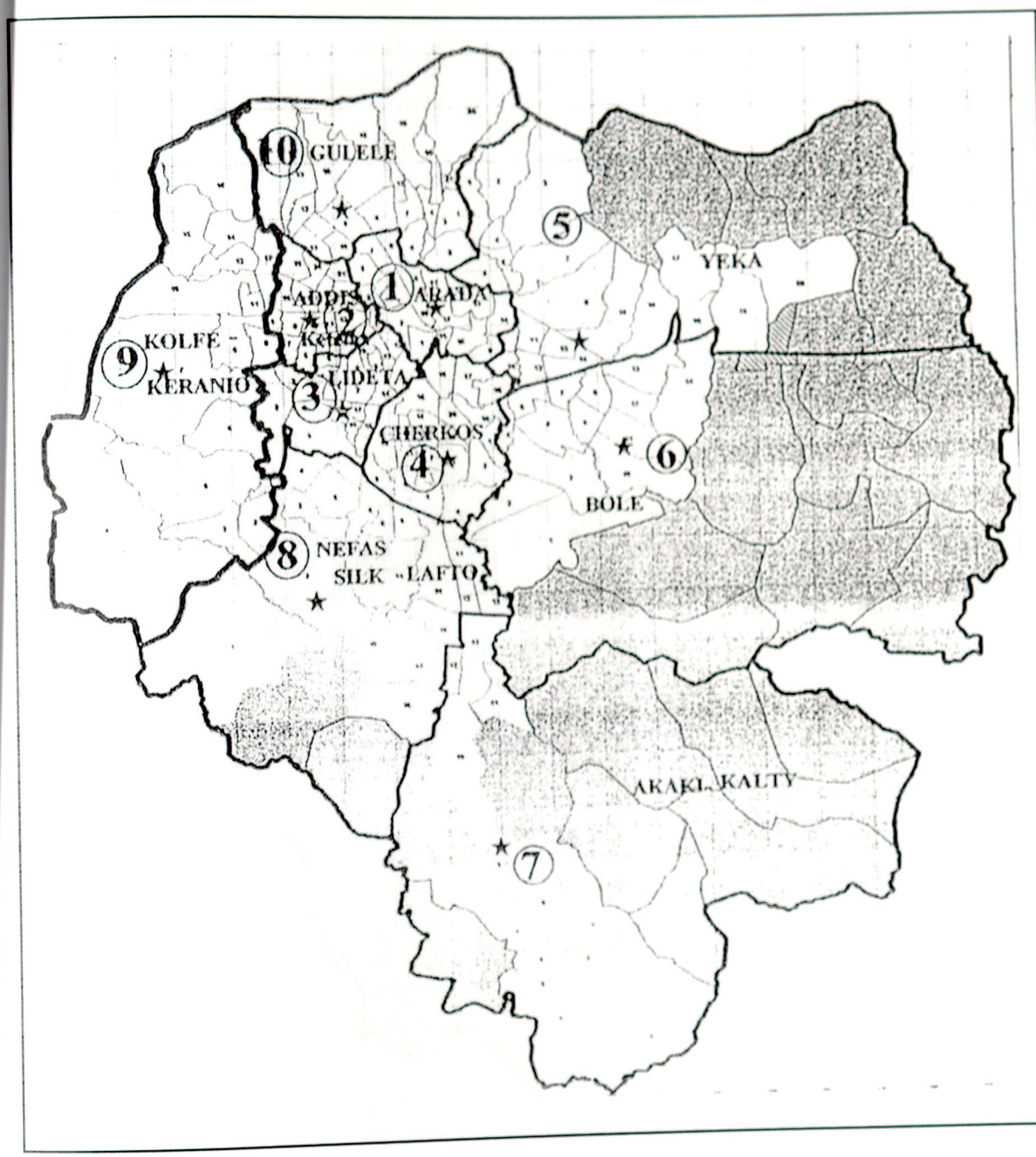
Over a century has elapsed since the establishment of Addis Ababa as an urban center. Its growth and development, however, does not at all commensurate with its age and

standing. Its poor plan, haphazardly built houses, the difficulty to maintain cleanliness due to lack of properly built sewerage, absence of good governance and the abject poverty of most of its residents are the major drawbacks faced by the city of Addis Ababa.

Historically, Addis Ababa is the third permanent capital of Ethiopia next to Axum and Gonder (Bahru 1987:44).

Map 2A

KIFLE KETEMAS AND KEBELES IN ADDIS ABABA



KIFLE KETEMA'S BOUNDARY

KEBELE BOUNDARY

AA CITY BOUNDARY

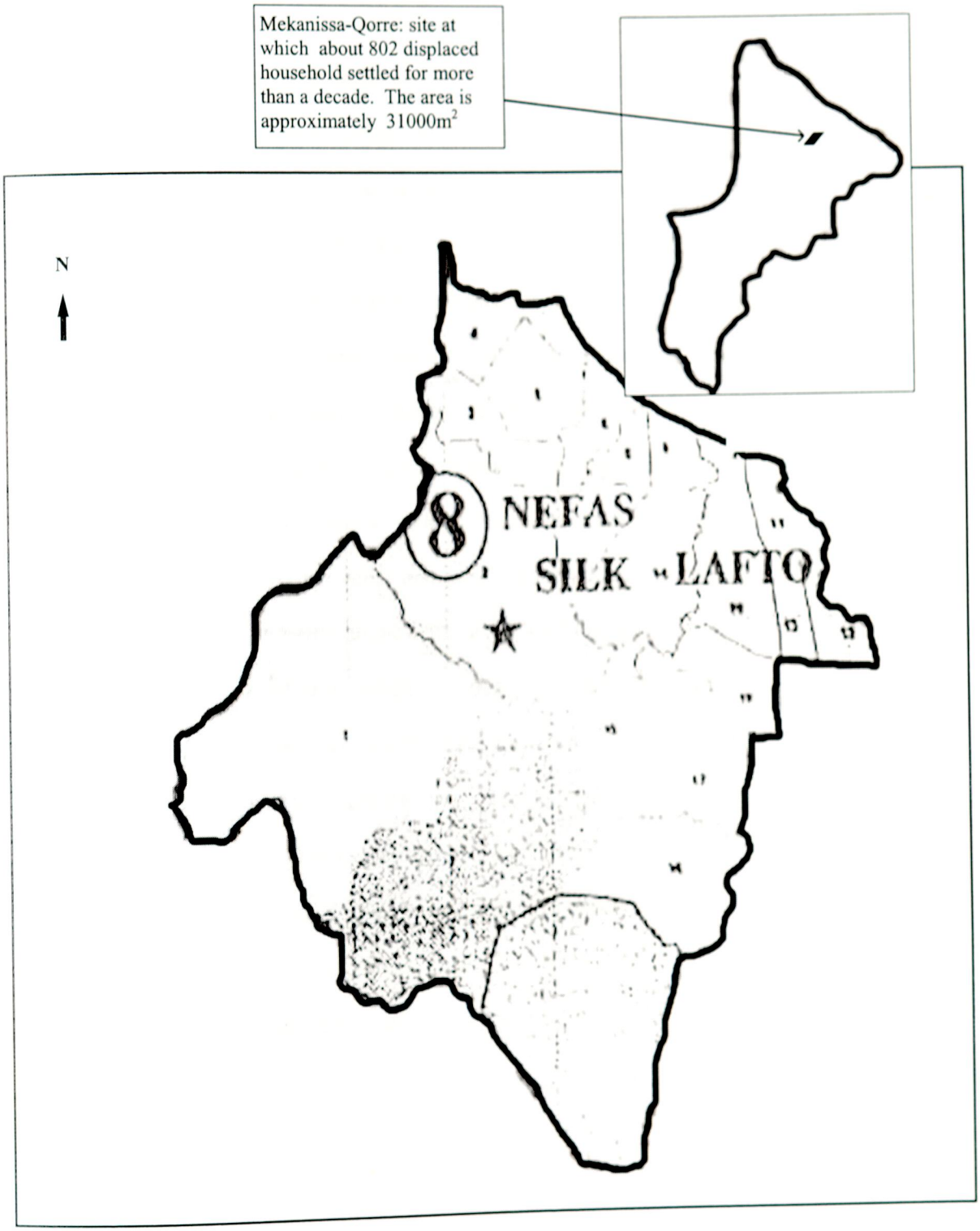
★ PROPOSED KIFLE KETEMA OFFICE

N

Source: ORAAP, February, 2003

Map 2B

Map of the Nefas Silk -Lafto Kifle Ketema and 02 Kebele



Source: ORAAMP, February, 2003 (Extracted and enlarged from the original by the author)

However, among its precursors within the Shoan kingdom, Addis Ababa broke the air of impermanence that had brought abandonment for old Entoto, Angolala, Debre Berhan, Fitche and Ankober (Ephrem 1998:38). The following (all quoted in Bahiru 1987:44) travelers and historians observed that the capital at different times in its history was just "a gigantic camp" (Glenichen, 1923) "huge camp" (Merab, 1920), born around the royal tent of the Showan king (Berlan, 1963), "semi-permanent type of *ketema*" similar to that of its precursors within the Showan kingdom (Johnson 1974). The land of Addis Ababa was given to the nobilities, palace workers, the clergy and embassies by the order of the king (Eshete Assen, 1987:80). Theses different holders settled in different *safars* with names indicating public figures that govern the localities or the occupation of the inhabitants, their lords or their ethnic background. In 1907 an edict was issued to transfer the temporary possession of land into permanent ownership. For some, that was the major point that insured the permanency of Addis Ababa as the capital of the empire (Bahru, 1987; Kiros, 1984).

The arbitrary nature of the land holding system is in turn reflected in the spatial structures of the city up to the

present. Initially, the city grew around the *Gibbi* (palace) as the political center and St. George the religious center (Bharu, 1987). This kind of growth attributed to the capital the "semi-rural and village character with its empty spaces and many large compounds"(Chaple 1987:143 cited in Ephrem, 1988).

According to the vision of the Office for the Revision of the Addis Ababa Master Plan (ORAAMP) by 2010, Addis Ababa will be a safe and livable city, and effective center for national economic growth and Africa's diplomatic capital. The city will ensure a safe and clean environment for a healthy and productive society with improved access to social services and physical infrastructure. Broad based growth of investment and employment will be realized through the development of a sound economic infrastructure and labor-intensive industrial technologies.

Pursuant to the information gathered from the Addis Ababa City Council, prior to 1950 the Mekanissa area was an agricultural land shared among a number of farmers mainly engaged in subsistence crop production in addition to animal husbandry. Towards the end of the decade the area, being on the southwestern outskirt of the city, was

apportioned to the pollutant emitting small-scale industries like wine factory, timber processing and Municipality's abattoir or slaughterhouse that are still functioning. The Municipality's waste-disposal site is also found in this part of the city.

Quite recently the area turned out to be a residential area where massive residential house construction is still being carried out. As a result, the once residentially marginalized settlement of the displaced is now surrounded by residential quarters.

The construction of the Addis Ababa ring road that dissects the Mekanissa-Lafto KK, has also maximized the economic significance of the place which attracted business connected to the service sector and this, according to most of my respondents, has become a threat to the displaced persons who had a continual fear of a possible dislocation at hand.

2.5 The Displaced and Their Encampment

Spontaneous settlement in the form of self-settlement is becoming a prevalent phenomenon in most cities in developing countries. In most cases these settlement

patterns are in one way or another related with displacement of people from their original living areas (Dwyer, 1979). Unlike rural areas, such settlements are widely unresearched within the urban context (Chambers,1979). The growing of such shelters as an alternative is problematic in the face of "higher levels of urbanization, land scarcity and the saliency of individual rights of land ownership and tenure" (Zetter 1995:35). The displaced as part of the urban poor who are uprooted from their former possession including land, housing and other mobile and immobile properties erect self-settlement on open urban lands as an alternative way out. This in turn brings a lot of issues into discussion including land ownership, forced relocation and consequently the problem of social disorganization (Ephrem 1998: 41).

Soon after the fall of the *Dergue* regime in 1991, a mass of displaced people entered into the city pushed from the various part of the country due to problems such as ethnic conflicts resulted from the escalated civil war and made to settle in different parts of Addis Ababa. Some of these groups of people were given kebele halls, stores, and camps as a temporary shelter and big aid tents were also erected to accommodate hundreds of households (MOLSA 1993:97).

Since that time there have been lots of changes of places and relocations of shelters from the city center to the periphery. Some people have preferred to stay in open lands in the center of the city such as Mekanissa-Qorre while others have moved into one of the 17 shelters, which are situated in different places with in the capital (See Appendix A).

2.5.1 Jan Medda: Life on the Street

The displaced have experienced a repeated dislocation since their arrival in Addis Ababa in January 1992. After several days of travel that started from Adigrat camp settlement where they stayed for eight months after they left home (Asmara) in June 1991, the trucks that carried them disgorged thousands of the displaced persons at Jan Medda, an open space in the northern part of the city that is used usually for public festivals like the Epiphany celebration. Upon arrival at Jan Medda, there were no tents or any kind of shelter provided to the displaced so they were forced to erect plastic sheets, blankets or cardboards against the stonewall of Jan Medda and lived there for two months.

One of my informants, Tsadkan Michael ,37, a divorcee with eight children describes the situation as follows:

After a four days and three nights journey, the open truck that carried us the whole way from Adigrat to Addis disgorged us at Jan Meda around the evening. It was our first time in Addis and I didn't know anyone here back then. I was shocked and confused when the driver and the soldiers that escorted us informed us that this is our final destination for there was neither a shelter to put our heads in nor a sleeping accommodation to lie our bodies on after the tearing four days journey. To make things worse there was a heavy shower of rain at the time and we were not allowed to pass through the gates of Jan Meda as there were thousands of other displaced persons from Assab who arrived prior to us. Seeing that there was no alternative, I stretched my blanket, the only property I managed to take away with me from Asmara at the time of our flight, against the wall at least to protect my younger ones from the rain. I remember, the same day in the middle of the night a muddy flood encroached on the ground we slept on and in the morning we found that the injera we saved for our breakfast has been already liquefied and gone with the flood.

2.5.2 Ankorcha (Kotobe): Life in a Kendda[1]

After two months stay in such a dire situation as the aforementioned one, the then RRC relocated the displaced persons to a place called Ankorcha at Kotobe, which is situated in the Eastern periphery of Addis Ababa. The description of the place and the situation is well articulated in one of my informants'[2] response below:

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[1] Tigrigna word for a tent

[2] G/Mariam W/Gabriel, 39, unmarried male who lived in Asmara for 30 years.

> … for the first time since the time of our departure from Adigrat, we slept in a tent provided by GOAL-Ethiopia though there was intense overcrowding where 70-80 families live in a kendda [medium sized plastic tent]. The same organization was also supplying us with grain and cooking oil. Life was relatively better in that part of the flight period. Apart from the abounding eucalyptus forest and host of hyenas, there were few residents in that particular place. It is common thing to watch hyenas in groups early in the evening. Of course, as far as I know, they did not cause us any harm except the fear experienced by mothers who felt insecure about their children. To resolve this problem, most of the male and strong members of the displaced community lived in the outskirts of the encampment encircling the tents of women and children. The other traumatic experience that we observed at this place is unforgettable one: one morning a bulldozer pulled to a site adjacent to our encampment and begun excavating human skulls and bones, there were also other people who escorted the bulldozer in other vehicles and they were weeping and crying. Some of the bones were still with pieces of worn-out cloth, wristwatch and punctured shoes. Most of us could not help crying with those weeping and it is still an abiding trauma in my life and I believe in the lives of other displaced persons. Later we came to learn from the family of the deceased that these were the victims of the Red Terror carried out by the *Dergu*.

2.5.3 Mekanissa: Protracted Camp Life

Simply put, a protracted displacement situation is one in which the displaced find themselves in a long-lasting and intractable state of limbo. Their lives may not be at risk but their basic rights and essential economic, social and

psychological needs remain unfulfilled after years in camps. Such a displaced person is unable to break free from enforced reliance on external assistance.

Pursuant to the information from members of the previous administrative committees[3] in a focus group interview, after seven months stay at Ankorcha, Kotobe the inherent conflict between the then administrative committee of the displaced persons and some young people of the same community ripened and as a result, a 52-years-old person was killed. Finally this led to the relocation of 90% of the displaced persons for the third time to Mekanissa. Following is what the aforementioned ex-committee member recounted about the conflict:

> The conflict begun a little after our settlement at Ankorcha; Kotobe in May 1994. Some 117 organized young people accused us [members of the then administrative committee] of an alleged misuse of the aid donated to the community from various NGOs particularly, Selam Children's Village, Catholic Relief and the ICRC.
> Of course, the actual problem was not what had been said as we came to understand in the process and as a matter of fact the majority of the people who are still here with us are witnesses to our innocence but it was the aspiration of those gangsters to assume the leadership. The accusing group finally politicized the case and made the argument an issue

[3] Interview with some of the members of the Administrative Committee of the displaced in 1992: Abayneh Abebe(37), Fantahun Belete (42) and Eshetu Asrat (40) on December 31,2002.

> of supporting the then TRA (Tigray Relief Association) a proposal that we declined based on the resolution of the community who justified their refutation on the basis of their economic incapability. Finally the RRC decided, without our consent, to relocate 4000 of us out of the total 4117 in May 1994 to Qorre, Mekanissa. The remaining 117 young dissenters remained there up till now and we hear that they are much well off compared to us.

After the conflict, the RRC decided to disband the displaced into four different localities in Addis Ababa but this developed a variance from the displaced persons who thought it may be a divide and rule method to finally rob of their collective power of struggling for the right of obtaining a place of permanent settlement.

Against the aforementioned decision of the then RRC, all the four groups moved to Qorre- Mekanissa which was originally assigned to only one group of the whole displaced community. This was taken as defiance by the RRC which begun retaliating by withholding any support for shelter construction. Left without any other alternative, the displaced persons erected the old tents they brought with them after a day long clearing of the uninhabited plot of land previously covered with thorny bushes and a few scattered acacia. The next day the RRC brought wheat grains and cooking oil to one fourth of the community originally

assigned at the Qorre-Mekanissa but they refused to accept unless it is also provided to the remaining three-fourth of the displaced community. This was a demonstration of their solidarity with the majority that accompanied them to Qorre Mekanissa resisting dispersal.

The community's cohesion was tested severely when the RRC continued its retaliatory act by not providing food for the next seven month as of May 1994. This was the time mothers and children went into the street for begging; young girls for prostitution and young boys turned out to be gangsters forcing unsought labor and then demanding undeserved payment for loading and unloading activities.

One of my informants, A.A[4] (40) tells the story as follows:

> Life is difficult here from the early beginning. Upon our arrival at Mekanissa-Qorre there was nothing to live in, so we had to clear the ground and erect our old tent, which we managed. But as you can readily see we are living in a patch of plastic shelter now, which we collect and sew together. They no more protect us from the winter's (*bega*) heat and rain and flood of the summer (*kiremt*). We have no latrine, kitchen, running water nor electric supply. We relatively pay high price for water that we fetch from the neighborhood; use kerosene lamps for light and oil-cake (faggulo) for cooking which is hazardous

[4] One of my subjects in the case studies, A. A. (40) is a female head of the family with 6 children the majority of which are engaged in begging. She is a street vendor with an irregular daily income of 2 to 3 Birr.

for the lung and of course caused the death of many women. Women and girls who should wait the dusk and/or dawn for excretion in the near by riverbanks and open spaces are the most vulnerable as there were instances of rape at the place of excretion. Our girls are impregnated at these places. Due to lack of food supply and its consequences during the first seven months, we have lost more than 60 children and I remember of an Eritrea mother who committed suicide than seeing the death of her starved children. One has to wait weeks on the waiting list before getting the skimpy medical treatment and even if we get any chance of admission to the Wereda 23 Health Center, there waits us discrimination. After the hasty diagnosis, they tell us that they are run out of medical supplies but we see other client receiving medicine in hanky-panky. The host community is passive towards us; they want us only to leave the place. They label us as thieves and vandals because of a few gangsters among us whom we couldn't control. The government has also forsaken us; we feel as outcast as no demand of ours gets attention. Various governmental offices are threatening us time after time to dislocate us anytime, the recent one being September 17, 2003. Aren't we citizens, aren't we entitled to domicile? Why everybody wants our desertion. We want a place of residence not the insignificant rehabilitation money. What do we do with 2000 Birr (an amount pledged by the DPPC recently) here in Addis with the entire family member... food, rent or what? This, I suspect, is a strategy to lead us astray which would be their final vengeance towards us.

The list of the consequence of prolonged encampment is long, and includes material deprivation, psychosocial

problems, violence, sexual exploitation, exploitative employment and resort to negative coping mechanisms.

According to Zetter (1995:52) from the perspectives of the displaced "location of settlement is the vital factor in their livelihood and survival strategies and the chances of integrating with the local economy". Localities within the urban system have their own importance for socio-economic mobility (Leeds, 1994). Displaced peoples' livelihood is tied with the environment itself. As a result they pay whatever cost to maintain their shelters in areas, which could enable them to engage in certain activities and provide them with necessary supplies pertinent to their meager income level (Ephrem 1998:52).

Parallel to the aforementioned observation, the displaced persons in Mekanissa-Qorre, managed to make a meager living out of mainly peddling and begging which became possible due to their location near a feeder road to the Addis Ababa ring road.

2.6. Demographic and Household Characteristics

The larger context of the study area, Addis Ababa is one of the larger cities in Africa with 2,942,667 inhabitants and

a 3.5% growth rate (CSA, 2002). As it can be readily seen from table 2:1,the area under context, i.e. Nefas Silk-Lafto Kifle Ketema alone consists of 333,998 people being the third largest after Gulelle and Cherkos of the 10 Kifle Ketemas in terms of population size.

Table 2:1 *Population Distribution of Addis Ababa in the Kifle Ketemas*

Ser. No.	**Kifle Ketema**	**N°. of Kebele**	**Pop.size**	**Area (ha.)**
1	Arada	17	303,810	1156,24
2	Addis Ketema	21	320,389	898.0
3	Lideta	18	295,013	1240.4
4	Cherkos	21	335,330	1626.4
5	Yeka • Urban Kebeles 21 • Rural Kebeles 4	25	304,550	4905.4
6	Bole • Urban Kebeles 17 • Rural Kebeles 5	22	287830	6955.4
7	Akaki Kallti • Urban Kebeles 13 • Rural Kebeles 8	21	181002	6143.4
8	Nefas Slik- Lafto • Urban Kebeles 18 • Rural Kebeles 3	21	333,998	44,25.4
9	Kolfe - Karanio	16	261,235	6510.4
10	Gullele	21	368,508	3273.4
	Total	**203**	**2,942,667**	**54001.44**

Source: Wereda 23 Administration Section (February 2003)

2.6.1 Magnitude of the Displaced People

According to the present statistics kept by the administrative committee of the camp for the displaced, there are 3649 displaced people in 670 female headed and 132 male headed households. Of these, 2789 are children under age 15. Generally, women and small children are the large majority and men account for only a very small percentage of the displaced in this site. This is mainly due to the death and/or disappearance of most of the male members during the period of conflict and flight.

Table 2:2 *Age of respondents by sex*

Age	Male %	Female %	Total %
21-30		3.5	2.1
31-40	52.9	51.8	52.0
41-50	29.5	38	35.4
51-60	11.8	6.9	8.4
>60	5.9		2.1
Total %	100	100	100
N	17	29	46

2.6.2 Language and Ethnic background

Ethnicity provides the context for " the construction of boundaries that both separates and bind people in a myriads of ways (Seymour-Smith 1986:22). As a result "self identification and stereotyping are viewed through the lens of ethnicity as complementary, dynamic and mutually

supportive phenomenon (Ibid). Rothchild (1986:18) has observed that individuals would quest to "find meaning and understanding in their lives " through their ethnic affiliation. The notion of ethnicity is so broad that it needs to be observed in particular situations and contexts to ensure clarification (Vertovec and Rogers 1995:39). Ethnicity also could provide socio-economic adjustment to people in a new social environment (Ngin, 1995).

The respondents in this study spoke one of the three major languages of Ethiopia as a mother tongue and almost all of them are bilingual with few being trilingual. About 71 % spoke Tigrnya, 27% Amharic and 2% Oromiffa.

Pursuant to the above discussion, the displaced people under consideration use their ethnic background for self-identification in some particular contexts. Furthermore, their respective ethnicity provides people within the group with an alternative factor for self-identification instead of sticking to recognition as *tefenakay;* which has a negative socio-economic connotation. Most of the displaced persons use their mother tongue to communicate among themselves while they use Amharic with the non-displaced community in their day-to-day interaction.

2.6.3 Religious Affiliation

With respect to religious affiliation, the majority are Orthodox Christians and less than 2% confess Islam. A significant number of respondents maintained their initial religious affiliation in spite of social and economic hardships they have passed through which they believed have given them stability and anchored them to undefined glimpse of hope in spite of the hardships they passed through.

2.6.4 Family Structure

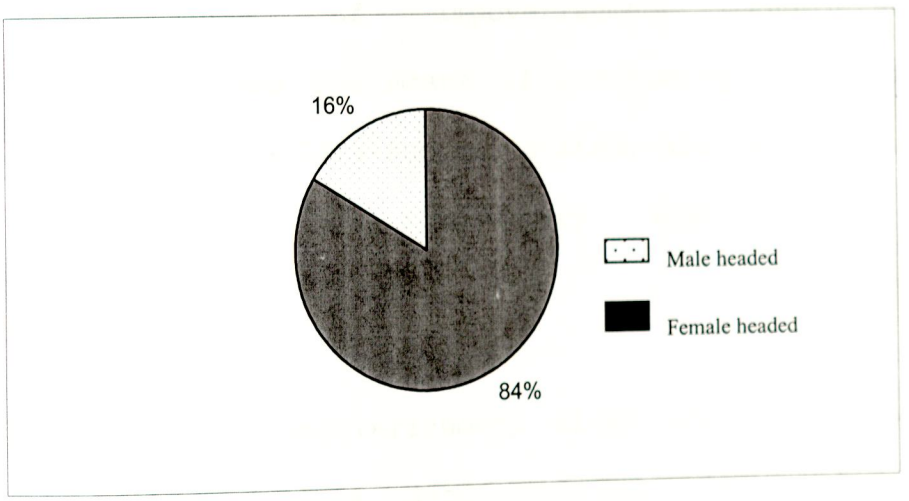
The occurrence of family disintegration was significant among the sample population. Death due to war has dramatically increased the number of widows and orphans, and many family members are separated when they flee from Asmara. Although about two-thirds of the respondent lived in nuclear families, the male-head of household was often absent due to death and/or disappearance during conflict or flight. The single parent in such a household was often a mother who was widowed, divorced or abandoned by her husband. Before displacement, widows and orphans were cared for by a male relative of the deceased, usually a brother. General destitution, however, has forced relatives to evade this customary obligation; as a result, most displaced households are headed by women. In a society

in which authority over children is vested in the male head of the family (a father or a first-degree relative), a household headed by a woman exercises little authority over its children. Because of such family disintegration, the number of street children in the city has reached alarming proportions. Deprived of decent housing, a balanced diet, and education or training opportunities, street children are faced with a miserable future. There has been much speculation about the impact of deprivation on the attitude of these children toward society. Some believe that street children are criminals in the making; others think they are potential political agitators. No one, however, seems to dispute that they are victims not only of war but also social negligence. Although a handful of national and international NGOs are working to rehabilitate them, the number of street children served by these interventions is very small. Generally, my study depicts some of abnormal characteristics of the displaced household: high divorce rates, missing spouses and single parent families and rarely child headed households. The displaced people household was often small, incomplete and disorganized. On the average, households in the study consisted of four persons.

2.6.5. Female-headed households

The proportion of female-headed households in refugee and war-affected populations is often very high (Human Rights Watch, 1996:19). This is also a remarkable features of the displaced communities in Addis Ababa. In this particular site, as shown in chart 2:1 more than 80% of the displaced population was female and more than half the mothers were widows. Presently 670 out of the 802 households are headed by women.

Chart 2:1 *Type of household by type of family head*



Source: Survey by the author (December 2002).

Chapter Three

Economic Dimension of Displacement

3.1 Displacement and Impoverishment

The most frequent end result of involuntary displacement, according to Cernea, is the creation of impoverished people who overnight become even more deprived-landless, jobless, homeless, and poor, perhaps begging for their food, vulnerable to increased morbidity and mortality, socially disoriented, and politically powerless (Cernea, 1995). These processes of impoverishment and social disintegration, and the means of overcoming them through the rebuilding of a life-support system, are central issues and challenges in involuntary displacement and reconstruction.

Understanding how impoverishment risks occur and how to counter them requires deconstructing the anatomy of impoverishment and defining the key determinants of income reconstruction. The onset of impoverishment can be represented through a model of eight interlinked potential risks intrinsic to displacement (Cernea, 1995). When not counteracted, these fundamental risks converge and combine

into economic, social, and cultural impoverishment. Thus, the model captures the loss by displaced people of all types of capital-natural, manmade (physical), human, and social-as well as loss of opportunities and entitlements held at the prior location. The model is also a tool for risk management, suggesting strategies for countering the risks. The eight risks occur with varying intensity in different contents. Concisely, they are defined below:

LANDLESSNESS: Expropriation of land removes the main foundation upon which people's productive systems, commercial activities, and livelihoods are constructed. This is the principal form of decapitalization and impoverishment for most rural and many urban displaced persons, who lose this way both natural and manmade capital.

JOBLESSNESS: Loss of employment and wages occurs more in urban areas, but it also affects rural people, depriving landless laborers, service workers, artisans, and small business owners of sources of income. Unemployment or underemployment resulting from resettlement tends to linger long after physical relocation.

HOMELESSNESS: Loss of housing and shelter is temporary for the majority of displaced persons, but threatens to become chronic for the most vulnerable. Considered in a broader cultural sense, homelessness is also placelessness, loss of a group's cultural space and identity.

MARGINALIZATION: Marginalization occurs when families lose economic power and spiral downward; small shopkeepers and craftsmen are downsized and slip below poverty thresholds. Economic marginalization is often accompanied by social and psychological marginalization, expressed in a drop in social status, displaced persons' loss of confidence in society and in themselves, and a feeling of injustice and increased vulnerability.

FOOD INSECURITY: Forced displacement increases the risk that people will fall into chronic food insecurity, defined as calorie-protein intake levels below the minimum necessary for normal growth and work. Sudden drops in food crop availability and income are endemic to physical relocation, and hunger or undernourishment lingers as a long-term effect.

INCREASED MORBIDITY AND MORTALITY: The health of displaced persons tends to deteriorate rapidly from the outbreak of relocation-related parasitic and vector borne diseases, from malnutrition, and from increased stress and psychological traumas. Unsafe water supply and waste disposal tend to proliferate infectious diseases, and morbidity decreases capacity and incomes. This risk is highest for the weakest population segments-infants, children, and the elderly.

3.2. General Economic Situation of the Displaced Persons in the Study Area

In spite of the length of their residence in Addis Ababa, 12 years, a very large proportion of the study population are far from attaining economic self-sufficiency. Most of them were not yet able to provide bare subsistence for their families and themselves. The prevalence of absolute poverty among the displaced population becomes clearer when we look at the general living conditions and purchasing power or consumption of the households covered by this study. First, a definition of poverty is in order.

Poverty is defined in different ways. Some sociologists describe the living conditions of the poor, other use objective standards such as income levels. In some affluent societies a household is defined as being 'poor' if its annual income is less than three times the cost of the minimal diet for the people in the family (Baldridge, 1975:225). In general, poverty is defined either in relative or absolute terms (McHale & et al, 1978:32). Absolute poverty implies closeness to survival margins in the satisfaction of basic needs. Such poverty is chiefly the problem of societies in the Third World where many people exist at or below subsistence level.

The majority of the respondents could be classified under absolute poverty. Since 1994 the displaced persons have lived in makeshift camp situated at the outskirt of the city where survival is increasingly difficult. They have no latrine, running water and power supply. Neither have they access to health facilities. As a result, gastrointestinal respiratory and urinary infections, diarrhea, and parasitism have become fatal menace.

Nearly all of them live in very crowded conditions. The average dwelling space of the households is about two

square meters per member. The median area of the displaced persons' shacks surveyed was 12 square meters and was used by an average of five persons, adults and children, per hut for living, cooking, sleeping and socialization and for storage. Nearly all of the dwellings are single room units. More than 19 per cent of the households share their premises with one or more households, often non-relatives.

The crowded living conditions of the displaced households have a compounding effect on their health. As a result of these environmental conditions and other ecological determinants, communicable diseases are prevalent among the displaced persons and at the time of the survey 61 per cent of the interviewees had health problems. About 48 per cent of those who complained about bad health conditions contracted the diseases after flight. About 31 per cent [all of them are women] suffered from respiratory problems reportedly caused by the fuel they use for baking *injera or kita* i.e. *fagulo* (oil-cake). The implication of this for the economic self-sufficiency of many households is clear.

The sociological impacts of the housing conditions are more than a few. Adequate shelter is one of the core human needs, and many basic needs are satisfied in relation to

the home: food preparation and storage, childcare, early socialization and education. Much of the satisfaction of psychosocial needs is also clustered around the household (McHale & etal, 1978:95-96). Congestion or overcrowding thwarts the satisfaction of these needs.

The complete loss of the means of production for basic foodstuffs is one of the most suffocating problems affecting the displaced persons. In the current living conditions, they are unable to provide the basic necessity. The absolute nature of the poverty of the displaced persons is also evident even when we look at their purchasing power or consumption. Using this rather crude measurement it was found that 51 % of the households in the survey were unable or barely able to buy food and they spent all of their income on just that item. The average household expenditure on food was about 90 % of income for all households, and yet many displaced persons suffer from malnutrition, just because of inadequacy of food. One of my respondents, Selamawit Tesfatsion[5], 33,explains the situation in the following manner:

> I used to work in the Ministry of Health in Asmara as a veterinarian and monthly earn 450 Eth. Birr in

[5] Selamawit Tesfatsion lived in Asmera for 20 years before forcefully expelled from her home with her children empty handed. She is a widow and head of a family of 7 members.

addition to a double amount I get in private part-time works taking medical care of individuals' domestic animals in Asmara. I had my own house full of materials needed for life. Food was not something you worry about back then. All this changed overnight where we became homeless sojourners. Tragically enough they did not allow me to carry a single coffee cup with me out of a material possession that worth 4 to 5 thousand Birr. Now I live in a plastic shelter. A 1.7x.90 meters wooden bed, a couple of cups with a kettle and a few plates are all what I have. My private area is my bed whereas my children share the floor for everything they look from a home and it is common for us nowadays to spend the whole day and night without something to eat. A cup of coffee for the older girls and me is the share of the day while the younger ones share a single *injera* (a thin round bread made up of *teff* flour). We are accustomed to such situations so much so that two meals per day seems to us extravagance. Saving is unthinkable for I completely spend what I get in a day from some kind of labor work to procure food items like *injera*, coffee and things for an ordinary paste usually *shiro* (pea flour for sauce where the latter and water are the minimum requirements).

More than 45% of the displaced children do not go to schools mainly due to economic reasons which can be explained in two ways, i.e. either they cannot afford education related expenses like uniform, stationeries and various contributions for the school or most of them spend their time doing something that immediately satisfy one of their basic needs like begging, street haberdashery or shoe shining activities.

3.3. Economic Integration and Economic Activities of the Displaced Persons in the Host Society

3.3.1. Economic Integration

Economic integration is defined as "the process of securing work and becoming a part of the regularly employed labor force in a given society" (Shannon *et al.*, 1973:36). However, the acquisition of a job may not mean economic self-reliance. For displaced to be considered economically integrated in host society, they must have reached a level of material self-sufficiency. Here, the key variable is self-sufficiency (Mekuria,1988:149). Humanitarian organizations consider displaced persons self-sufficient when they reach a state which permits the withdrawal of aid (Harrellbond, 1986:2). In other words, self-sufficiency concerns the ability to produce and satisfy one's own basic needs. Economic integration is, therefore, corresponding with self-sufficiency and implies a certain degree of success as productive members of that society and an attainment of a reasonable standard of living commensurate with that of the majority of the indigenous population (Mekuria, 1988:149).

Anthropologists such as Geertz (1963) in his bazaar economy and McGee (1971) in his writings entitled "peasants in cities', "urban involution" and 'the ProtoProletariate", (all cited in Ephrem, 1988), have depicted the nature of petty economic activities within the urban context. For such petty activities anthropologists attribute the term 'informal sector' (Hart, 1973; Hannerz, 1985; Skar, 1985; Aijmer, 1985; Greenfield and Prust, 1990; Robert, 1990; Clammer, 1987; Browne, 1996).

Greenfield and Prust (1990), Robert (1990) and Clammer (1987) have further observed that the informal activity is the "survival mechanism" of the urban poor. In the face of rapidly changing socio-economic situations, "traditional mode of social interaction" enables people through networks to exploit the residue of the highly formalized economy of the modern urban context (Greenfield and Prust, 1990). In this respect Clammer, (1987) argues that in "peripheral capitalist societies" state control of all economic activities tend to suppress the informal sector and as a result the urban poor would lose its livelihood. For Clammer, (1987: 188-201) the informal sector provides economic alternative "especially for the uneducated, the

handicapped, the old, the chronically sick, those without relatives, widows, divorced person and the unskilled" *(Ibid)*.

Browne, on her part, is underlying that the "informal economy is a survival strategy of the poor" (Browne, 1996). However, through "cross-class study" her further analysis indicates that "the poor are connected to non-poor members of society through their informal economic ties" *(Ibid)*. She further elaborates that "micro-scale factors" shape the informal economic activities. Therefore, the "unique cultural history" should be linked with the "specific forms of economic behavior" (Browne, 1996). Based on micro level studies carried out in different contexts, she has observed that:

> The combined effect of these studies can be seen to argue that while macro-level, structural factors may condition the fact of informal economic activity in a given area, the form and extent of this activity may be more significantly shaped by non-economic, culturally-specific variables. This growing body of research makes evident that to "manage" or "redirect" the informal economy one must first comprehend the unique set of opportunities and constraints that shape this activity in a given community (Browne 1996:226).

The specific cultural and socio-economic context provides a framework for the development of a particular type of

economic behavior. The different strategies and activities employed by the poor in the informal sector activity would be shaped by constraints in that particular context.

3.3.2. Economic Activities of the Displaced Persons in Mekanissa- Qorre

In the context of the displaced, in Mekanissa area, there are lots of small-scale activities. Most of these sets of income generating activities have already been adopted by the majority of the urban poor. The displaced as the new poor adapt to these diverse activities being provided by the urban environment.

For the vast majority of the population in the displaced persons' community, productive activities and the activities of the household are not separate. Production was either carried on in the home, or nearby. All members of the family participate in the income generating activities of the household in one way or another. For instance, in one of the households I observed, two of the three boys, 5 and 6 years old, are engaged in selling cigarettes and napkins while the young adult is a taxi assistant and the mother sells banana at the side of a nearby street.

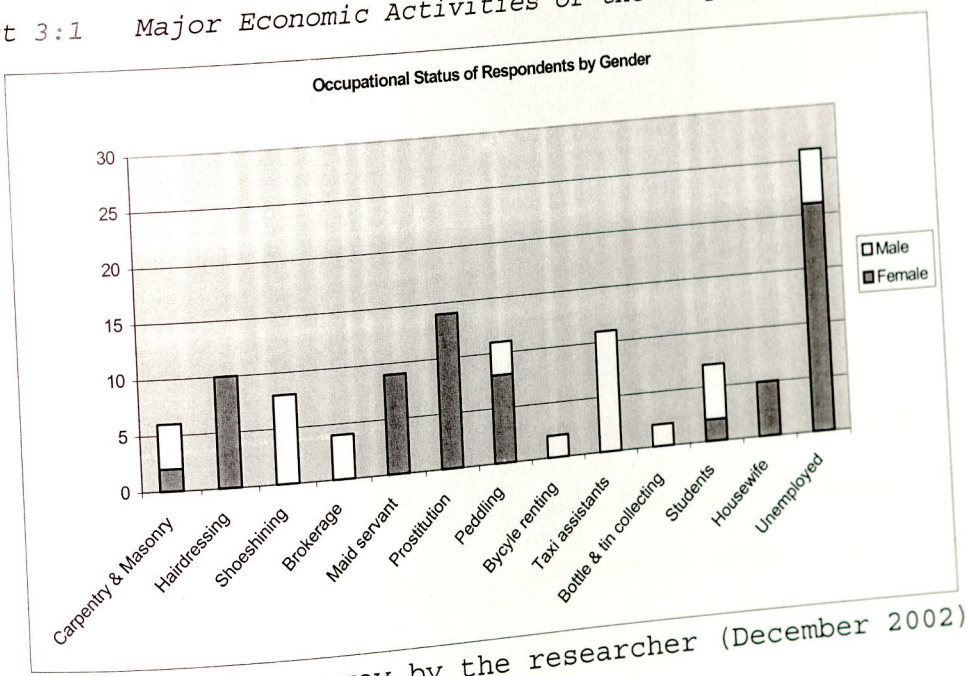
Some of the activities are age and sex specific. For instance, men are unlikely to work as maids or engage in hairdressing and prostitution. Activities such as street haberdashery, theft and garbage picking could commonly be picked by both sexes. Most young men and boys engage in money-changing, taxi-assisting (*Weyalla*), car washing, bicycle renting, shoe shining, and garbage picking. Besides, health status would restrict the involvement of people in much labor-intensive activities. Generally children under 18 are the majority engaged in one or another type of economic activity.

Chart 3.1 gives condensed picture of occupational structure of the study population. As is depicted in the chart the majority (43%) of the employed breadwinners are women who are mainly engaged in prostitution and hairdressing activities compared to the 33% of employed men. As mentioned in the previous chapter the prevalence of female-headed households has a direct impact on the economic activity and income of the household. An average daily income of a female-headed household is 5 birr whereas it is 8 birr for the male-headed households depicting that woman workers are overwhelmingly concentrated in poorly paid, routine occupations.

One of the interesting thing here is that women have made some inroads into occupations defined as 'men's jobs' like taxi assistant (*Weyalla*), carpentry and Masonry, but so far only to a limited degree.

As portrayed in the same chart, unemployment is one of the major economic features of displaced persons constituting 22.6% of the respondents. This is mainly attributed to the mismatch between the displaced person's occupational background and experiences with those required and the unavailability of job-training services in the host environment.

Chart 3:1 Major Economic Activities of the Displaced persons



Source: Field survey by the researcher (December 2002)

Most of the activities need high mobility of people from one locality to the other within the urban context. Some of the areas also are suitable for certain informal activities more than others. In this respect, people are obliged to commute between their areas of residence to working places daily.

Pursuant to the aforementioned proposition, most of the displaced persons travel on a regular basis between their shelter and places where they get income. Children between 5-12 usually travel an average of 8 kms and young adults commute over 15 kms on foot for bread, which they might secure at the end of the day through begging, peddling and/or daily labor work.

According to my observation, most of the older beggars and peddlers begin their travel much earlier to sunrise and come back late in the evening whereas children go to their business (begging, peddling, etc.) late in the morning and come back a little before midnight. The following partial transcription of an in-depth interview with one of my

informants[6] illustrates some aspects of the economic life of the displaced persons:

> I have to wake up before the birds sing, for my mother does not allow me to sleep longer and besides I should reach *Hayahulet* (a place 8 kms away from her shelter through the shortest route) well ahead of the arrival of government workers whom I sell napkins and cigarette to. I usually reach home at about 11 p.m. and sometimes a little past mid night for I also try to sell my napkins to passengers in traffic-jams. On my way home, I usually meet friends coming from other directions. That is the most interesting time for we talk of our day, gains and losses, incidents and many more. I love that time in which I forget the toil of the day and the tiresome distance ahead. We sing and shout while running home and at times we stop and fight with others on our way who want to snatch our coins which we latter, if we at all manage, give to our parents who expect it at a fixed amount.

Figure 3:1 shows the distance covered by displaced persons mostly children between the ages of 5 and 12 and young adults in Addis Ababa. Besides, the chart indicates some of the major places at which they usually carryout their income generating activities. Most of them however, have no fixed place as they wander from place to place to maximize their gains except a few shoeshine that already won clients in certain places. The average distance they cover per day ranges between 7 to 8 kms and their income increase with

[6] Aranshi Tekle,13, was an infant in the bosom of her mother during the flight from Asmara in June 1991. She is the only breadwinner of a family of 6 headed by her widow mother who could not work due to sickness she contracted at a camp in Adigrat.

distance from their settlement as the chance of meeting more people increases with distance. The average income of children commuting between the camp and Bole, for instance, is 8-10 birr while that of the children staying around Mexico and Mekanissa is 5 and 3 birr respectively.

Table 3:1 Income and distance correlation in the displaced person's informal economic activity

Place	Distance	Amount gained in Birr/day
Mekanissa and Surrounding	<1 km	2.50 to 3
Mexico Square and Surrounding	4-5kms	5-6
Bole and Surrounding	8-9kms	8-10

Source: Survey by the researcher (December 2002)

3.4. Coping Mechanisms

Based on data presented in chart 3.1,respondents who reported that they were unemployed (22%) and/or those that their income was not enough to meet their basic needs (12%) were asked to describe how they managed through hardship. The majority, 31 %, as one way of survival strategy minimizes its daily consumption of food and fuel. For instance, most of them have reported that they would eat once in 24 hours.

Begging is the second best strategy practiced by the displaced usually done by children between 5-12 under the supervision of parents or elder siblings. These children, at the end of the day, are forced to hand in totally what they have received in alms and are subject to severe scrutiny that usually leads to corporal punishment in case any sort of deceitfulness is detected.

Another means of survival during times of hardship is loans. More than half of the responding households depended upon loans to carry themselves through periods of unemployment and scarcity. Female members than males use the system more frequently. The lender, usually the employed member of the community, lends a small amount in

cash or kind for which interest is seldom paid. Fraternity rather than profit is the motive here. Most of the borrowers and lenders are relatives, neighbors and acquaintances. Those who lack such social relations are rarely helped by the system. Researchers on disaster have noted elsewhere that increased solidarity during crisis does not work indiscriminately but that there is an ordering of who are helped first, second and so on. Individuals will first help their family and kin and then other persons (Hultåker and Trost 1976:6-7).

Therefore, being together with one's family and kin could reduce not only anxiety, but will also have adaptive value by enhancing the chances of the individual surviving (Mekuria, 1988:169).

Table 3.2 Source of supplementary income in times of shortage or unemployment by gender (%)

Source of Income	Occurrence (%) Female	Male	Total
Begging	13.1	7.8	20.9
Forcing unsought labor on clients & hence demand fees for activities such as loading and unloading	10.5	7.8	18.3
Loan	7.8	5.3	13.1
Assistance from Acquaintances	21.4	10.5	31.9
Minimized Consumption		2.6	2.6
Burglary		13.1	13.1
	52.8(21)	47.1(18)	99.9(38)

Source: Survey by the researcher (December 2002)

The economic situation of the displaced persons in Mekanissa-Qorre is dreadful. An overwhelming majority is still in tents and plastic shelters, which are crowded and vulnerable to infection. Among the displaced, density per room is high, and most of the family cooking is done inside the room. Thus infants and young children are exposed early to disease brought into the home by the roaming parent and older siblings. The impact of acute respiratory infection thus is intensified by malnutrition.

Most of them have received some assistance from the RRC, the UN systems, various NGO's and the community at large which was cut short five years ago. Food for work program was also known for a few months in 1998 up until its termination by the Ethio-Eritrean war that purportedly detained the grains at the port of Assab. As a result, more than half of the community went into informal economic activities where peddling, temporary labor work and prostitution, are the predominant ones. The community however, has not managed to be self-reliant yet.

Chapter Four

Socio-cultural Dimensions of Displacement

4.1. Introduction

Very little attention has been given to forced displacement as a social process that transforms existence, and its sociocultural dimension has also been grossly overlooked (Ibrahim 1995:35). This chapter addresses those concerns as they refer specifically to the displaced persons from their homes by the war in 1991.

According to Mekuria (1988:174), the social consequences of uprooting for the individual are estrangement and alienation. Family support, kin ties and primary and secondary group relations are broken. In the town from which most of the respondents originate the boundary between the family and the surrounding community is fluid. The family provides its members with links to the community. Hence an individual is an integral part of both of these mutual support system. Cohesion and acceptance are taken for granted. Flight " desocializes" the individual as he/she is uprooted from these social surroundings.

4.2.Social Risks of Displacement

The social-anthropological approach to resettlement compels us to explore not only how displacement threatens individuals with impoverishment, but also how society may be affected as a whole, in its structure and fabric. Integrating the risks discussed in chapter three at the societal level, Cernea writes:

> Forced displacement tears apart existing communities and structures of social organization, interpersonal ties, and the enveloping social fabric. Kinship groups tend to get scattered. Life-sustaining informal networks of mutual help, local voluntary associations, and self-organized service arrangements are dismantled. The destabilization of community life is apt to generate a typical state of anomie, crisis-laden insecurity, and loss of a sense of cultural identity" (Cernea 1997:34).

This study has found that the elusive disarticulation process undermine livelihoods in ways uncounted and unrecognized by researchers and are part of the complex cause of impoverishment. The study at this particular site found various manifestations of social disarticulation, such as growing alienation and anomie, the loosening of kinship bonds, the weakening of control on interpersonal behavior and lower cohesion in family structures. Marriages were deferred because of dowries, feasts and gifts became

unaffordable. The displaced persons obligations towards and relationships with non-displaced kinsmen were eroded and interaction between individual families was reduced. As a result, participation in-group action decreased; leaders became conspicuously absent from the displaced persons community, communal feasts and interfamilial socializations were discontinued and daily informal social interaction was severely curtailed. Following are some of the major manifestations of social disarticulation among the displaced persons under context.

4.2.1. Sociocultural Confusion and Loss of Identity

Displacement has brought about sociocultrual confusion, cultural estrangement and loss of social identity because most displaced people can no longer uphold deep-rooted values, norms, and social institutions. The evasion of customary obligations to widows and orphans is an example of disintegration caused by impoverishment. In other cases, however, the confusion stems from sociocultural displacement. Loss of cultural traditions creates deep psychological distress among displaced people who are coping with the embarrassing realities of their new camp life.

One of my respondents[7] sees the aforementioned danger when he expressed his feelings in the following manner:

> Some of our children do not know our folktales and our customs. They do not know our festivals except for the dancing and the drumming, which they do not understand.

Among two scores of teenagers, for instance, whom I randomly talked to about the customary telling of patrilinar ancestors, only three could narrate up to their great grandfathers; the rest could not go beyond that. Only few knew the names of the village their family originally came from and none could narrate a history of their families.

4.2.2. Family Disintegration

The most obvious disruption in the sociocultural organization of the displaced persons has been the disintegration of family structures. Death due to the war has dramatically increased the number of widows and orphans, and many family members are separated when they flee from the war zone or when men, willing or not, join the combat. Before displacement, a male relative of the deceased, usually a brother, cared for widows and orphans.

[7] Shawl Mulugeta, 56, heads a family of 8 members. He has lived in Asmara for 21 years where he used to drive city bus for a living.

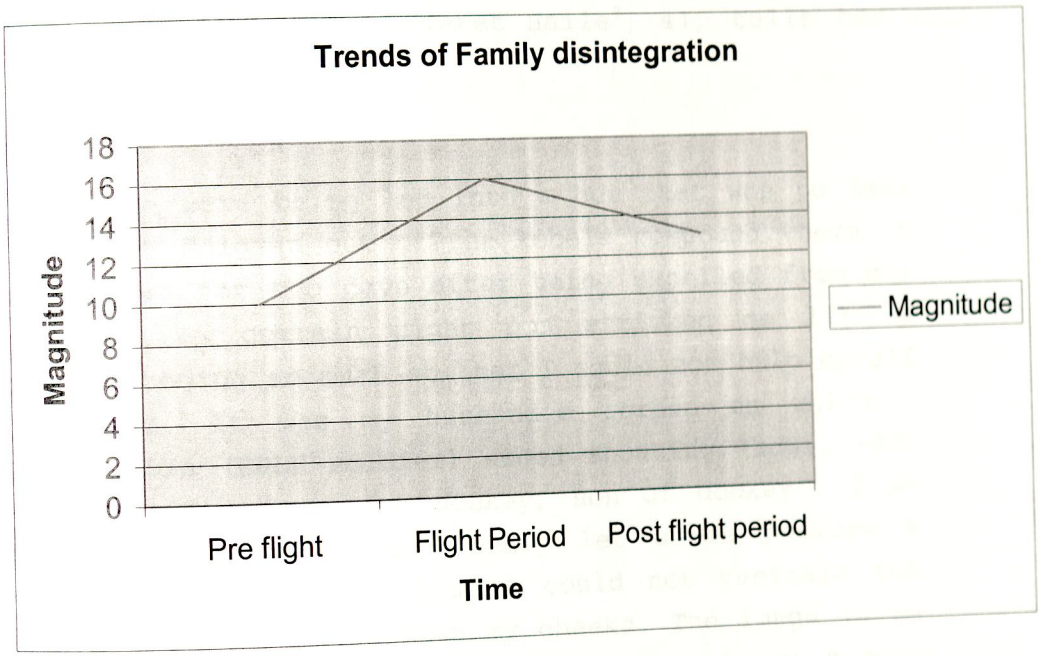
General destitution, however, has forced relatives to evade this customary obligation; as a result, most displaced households are headed by women. In a society in which authority over children is vested in the male head of the family (a father or a first degree relative), a household headed by a woman exercised little authority over its children.

As depicted on chart 4:1,out of the 46 respondents 21% missed someone from the family before leaving Asmara or Dekemehari and 34% experienced family disintegration during the flight due to mainly fatal sickness, disappearance and conflict on the way. The other 29% went through the same experience in the post flight period due to certain disagreement or misunderstanding in the family.

It is clear from the graph that most of the incident of disintegration occurred during the flight period which extended for an average period of 8 months with a seemingly insurmountable challenge that included, according to most of my informants, dehydration, Malaria, attack on the way, inter-group conflict and sudden disappearance. The second major instance of disintegration is during post flight times due to disagreement that occurred mainly between

spouses and/or grown up children and a single parent. In almost all cultures, one of the most important factors is the cohesion of the family and community, and the degree of nurture and support that children receive. Separation from family members is one of the most distressing traumas of all particularly for younger children.

Chart 4:1, *Trends in family disintegration among the displaced persons of Mekanissa-Qorre camp.*



Source: Researcher's Survey (December, 2002).

4.2.3. Psychosocial Consequences

Reports have shown an increase in psychological and psychiatric disturbances among the displaced, which are caused at least partly by sociocultural displacement

(Ibrahim 1995: 42). This distress does not result simply from the anticipation of future calamity. It is also a consequence of past experience. Virtually everyone in the area of armed conflict has been personally affected by the tragedies of the war. Many have watched loved ones die in pain from bullets wounds, burns, or sickness. A few have also watched on their way out of Asmara the corpses of their loved ones burned or lie swollen on a road side in the outskirts of the town. Asmeret Haile[8], 41, tells her story with tears as follows:

> As we were being led into a bus that was to take us to Adigrat out of the kebele compound where we stayed for two days after being expelled from our home, a certain sight has stricken me like a lightening so much so that I could not help myself stand. It was my husband's corpse on which a *shaabia* (EPLF soldier) stood shouting "*adgi, wodi adgi*" [Tigringna for donkey, son of donkey]. I am not allowed to cry loudly let alone perform a proper burial for him. I could not restrain the hot tears running down my cheeks. The image is as fresh as that of yesterday which haunts me almost every night. I wonder of what has happened to the corpse ... hyenas had devoured or vultures scrambled it with the bones scattered everywhere! What shall I say?"

She couldn't continue for her voice was strangled and tears drop incessantly.

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[8] Asmeret Haile, a widow in the Mekanissa-Qorre camp was a resident in Asmara for 25 years until the time she war forced to leave her home with her three children on May 26, 1991.

Like Asmeret, most of the displaced persons indicated that memories of the event remain with them causing extreme nightmares, daily intrusive flashbacks of the traumatic events, fear, insecurity and bitterness. Indeed, one of the most significant war traumas of all, particularly for younger children, is simply separation from parents, often more distressing than the war activities themselves. Adolescents also face particular problems. They are at a time of life when they are undergoing many physical and emotional changes. In some ways, they are even more vulnerable than younger children since they recognize better the significance of the events unfolding around them. Some respondents mentioned suicide attempt by young adults who are in a state of depression and who have increased levels of aggression and delinquency.

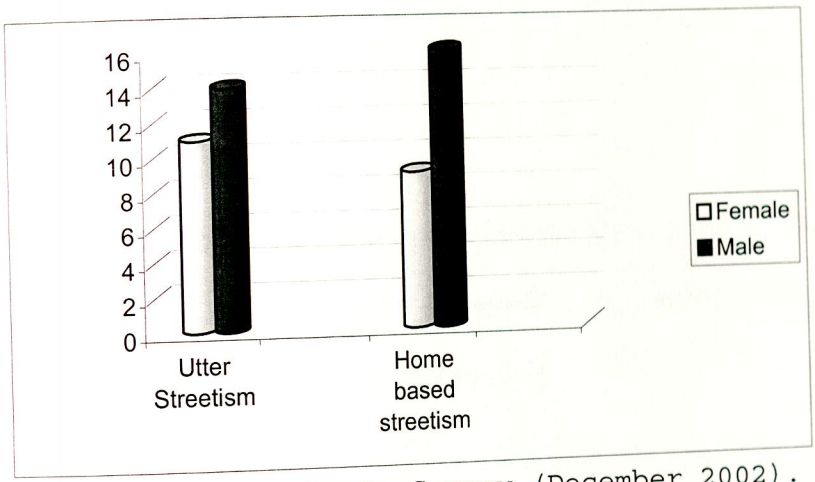
4.2.4. Streetism

One of the major consequences of forced displacement is the creation of streetism, which is a predominant source to breed and ignite a heterogeneous whole of social *anomie* in our world (http://Ghana.takingitglobal.org/community/profile.html). Because of family disintegration, the number of street children in urban areas has reached alarming proportions. It is estimated that in Addis Ababa there are more than

in street corners begging, robbing and doing anything available for survival (Tekahun 2003:20).

Per the information gathered from the respondents in this study more than 25% of the children live completely on streets while the remaining 56% are home-based.

Chart 4.2 *Prevalence of street children among the displaced persons in the Mekanissa-Qorre camp*



Source: Researcher's Survey (December 2002).

Streetism is a danger that undermines particularly the potentials and developments of children. Certain negative values, behaviors and attitudinal changes from the already positive living priority formed at their tender age under the supervision of their parents. It is a liability to society when they are found without a true home for warmth, and without love and care for a sense of belonging. They

are spotted at street corners, both during the day and the night struggling for survival by whatever means possible. Drug addiction, child labor and violence are other key products of streetism, which adds to the crime wave and disturbs the peace of the city. According to the press release of the Walta Information Agency on March 2003, the frequency of crime and violence has exacerbated in the city more than ever which may partly be attributed to the aforementioned grounds.

4.2.5 Prostitution

The prevalence of prostitution [referred to as 'survival sex' among the displaced persons in this study] is relatively high as shown in chart 3:1.

Young widows are common within the displaced community, comprising more than a quarter of all heads of households. Fleeing from poverty, these young girls search for work in the city. Due to the growing unemployment in the city, they are forced to search for uncommitted sexual partnerships with both single and married men for money hence justify 'survival sex'. Moreover, some women commented that sexual relations provide some sort of relief from the daily

stress. Multipartnerships are common as women outnumber men in this context.

It is observed that prostitution has two forms here: full time and part-time. Among my respondents some are doing it sometimes when their income from the work as a daily-laborer fails to meet their rudimentary needs and the majority of the prostitutes fall in the previous category where they take it as permanent means of income.

4.2.6. Stigmatization and Low Self-esteem

In a classic work titled Stigma (1963), Goffman defined stigma as an attribute that is deeply discrediting and that reduces the person being stigmatized from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one (http://www.psoriasis.org/news/2002/20020726_stigma).

Goffman further defined stigmas as being either "discrediting" or "discreditable." A discrediting stigma is one based on characteristics immediately apparent to others, while a discreditable stigma is based on factors that aren't immediately apparent to others (Ibid).

According to social psychologists, people with discreditable stigmas cope in a number of ways. They may

decide to tell no one about their situation (total secrecy); or they may reveal it to selected individuals or only late in a relationship (selective concealment); or they may make the stigma public knowledge (Ibid).

The displaced community has suffered the effects of stigmatization in all phases of the displacement experience. According to the information from 65% of my informants, right from the start, in Asmara their neighbors with whom they lived for not less than 15 years have failed them by reporting of their ethnic background to the Eritrean force that expelled them right away. One of my informants[9] expressed her feelings as follows:

> Those very neighbors whom we spent together years of happiness and sadness, ups and downs turned overnight to be traitors and it was an overwhelming shock and sense of uselessness that I felt at the sight of my once good neighbors but now betrayers at the side of our expellers.

On top of this, during the time of flight in Adigrat and Mekele most of them did not receive even the slightest welcome from the community, which ought to be one due to its ethnic affinity to the displaced person. Responding to one of my questions that goes like *"Why didn't you stay at*

[9] Tibereh Zewdi, 43, has been in Asmara for 25 years. She had six children out of which 2 have died during the period of flight at Adigrat.

Adigrat or Mekele, your birth place, where your relatives are staying?" Teberih (Ibid) responded:

> When the *Shabia* told us in Asmara that we would be shortly moved to Ethiopia, my initial plan was to stay with my mother who used to live in Adigrat but upon arrival the discrimination and rudeness of the people of Adigrat towards us was unbearable. For instance, they cover their nose when they passed by us and insulted us as mercenaries. Then I decided not to see that land again and came to Addis Ababa where I have no one to depend on for temporary shelter and food assistance.

After arrival in Addis Ababa, the displaced indicated that they have experienced minimum stigmatization compared to that of the preflight and flight phases of displacement. For the first two months according to the information from almost all of my respondents, there was incomparable hospitality from the people of Addis especially those living in the vicinity of Janmeda, including university students who shared their meals with them. But with time and change of places the hospitality decreased and slight marginalization begun remerging.

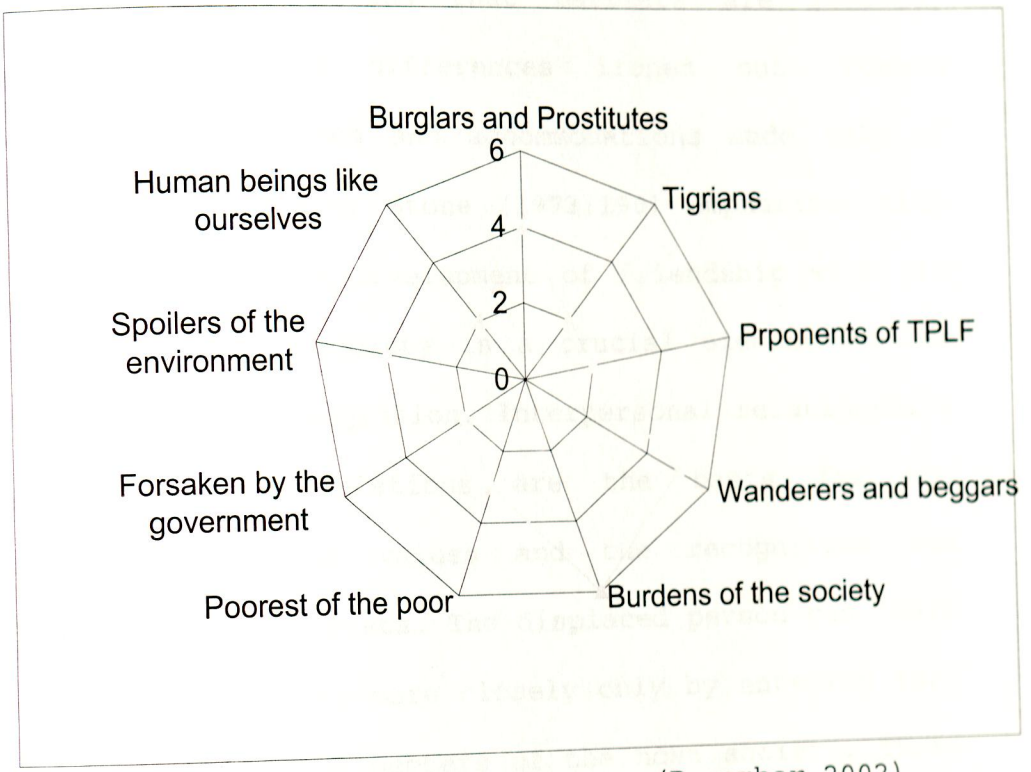
> It is becoming clearer to me that as one is away from his homeland people see him as useless and that he would meet prejudice and misunderstanding.[10]

[10] Abrham Belay, 34, is member of the administrative committee for the displaced persons. He was born in Asmara where he lived until the time of expulsion.

First, the term '*tefenakai*' [Amharic for displaced person] is a label which has negative connotation and which the displaced people never use to refer to themselves, rather they use the indirect one '*metteleya*' [Amharic word that have an implied meaning of 'people living in a shelter']. The former brings prejudice and leads to alienation of the people so tagged. As depicted from the data presented on chart 4:3,the community around the camp views the displaced persons as problem rather than as individuals with problems, which are not of their making. They are seen as secretive, untrustworthy and suspicious individuals and not as people from specific cultures and societies.

Labels are reductive and therefore potentially dangerous. A number of the respondents commented that placing individuals and groups in the category of '*tefenakai*' masks their heterogeneity, as does, for example, labeling people with disabilities, in all their diversity, as 'the disabled'.

Chart 4:3, Opinion about the displaced persons of the community in the vicinity of the displaced persons' camp



Source: Researchers field survey (December 2002)

4.3. Social Integration

According to Mekuria, social integration refers to the way in which the displaced persons relate to the social environment in the host community (1988:174).

Homans proposes that " the more frequently persons interact with one another, the stronger their sentiments of friendship for one another are apt to be" (1965:133). Thus,

social integration starts with the establishment of contacts between displaced persons and their host. It is through social interaction that barriers are removed, attitudes change and differences ironed out. Common interests are recognized and accommodations made only if interaction takes place. Stone (1973:190) emphasizes that the development or non-development of friendship with the members of the host society is a crucial element in the immigrants' social integration. Interpersonal relationships and primary group relations are the basis for the development of common values and the recognition and pursuit of common interests. The displaced person can learn about his new community more closely only by entering into such relationships with members of the host society. These relations are also indicators of social acceptance into new community.

4.3.1. The Informal Economy as Social Integrator

As indicated in the previous chapter, the informal economy plays a pivotal role in the survival of the displaced people.These economic activities, furthermore serve as integrators between the displaced and the host community.

4.3.1.1. Participation in the local labor market

Once integrated into the informal economy labor market, the great majority of the respondent population is subjected to carry on any kind of activity, namely the performance of low-skilled or unskilled work. 69% of the employed respondents fit presently into the "unskilled workers" category: the women are working in housekeeping and cleaning services while the men are working as bricklayer's assistants, masons and iron benders in construction. This, according to information from respondent, has served the establishment of active relationships between the displaced and the non-displaced communities. The structure of the active respondents division by activity sectors barely differs from the structure of the host community division in the vicinity, where there are men in construction activities and women in personal and domestic services.

4.3.1.2. The Role of Small Businesses

New small merchants from the host community establish small shops where the displaced usually come to buy items for daily consumption like flour, sugar, oil and the likes. Moreover the telephone service rendered at these mini shops attracts many of the displaced and the host community where preliminary interaction begins. The many inns for local

alcoholic drinks [*tella bets* and *tej bets*] gather a lot of people from both communities where almost every kind of idea gets a platform and extemporized discussions flicker in a seemingly muddled manner. People get to know each other and brokerage is conducted as artisans and daily laborers are connected to employers.

The fact that the displaced people in their entirety receives water and power supply at a slightly expensive price from the host community, has also effected a link where friendship is fostered particularly among the children and female members of the two communities under consideration. One of my respondents[11] commented about her relationship with her water suppliers as follows:

> I like fetching water not as a hobby but for it was the first instance I built a relationship with residents in this surrounding and still is an opportunity to relate to them. Now the young girl of their family is my best friend and I sometimes go to their place and watch TV and I make *shurubas* [hair braiding] for the female members of the family for free, of course they usually do not send me home barehanded. It became customary that whenever there is some sort of celebration at their residence, not only me but also my family would be invited after the gusts had gone. And

[11] Fiyeri Ayalew, 15, has three brothers and four sisters and helps her widow mother and the family by doing all the domestic labor work including fetching of water traversing 500meters twice or trice a day from one of the residents in the neighborhood who sells it at 5 cents/ gallon.

this, I think is because of the relationship established between my friend and me.

4.3.2 Voluntary Organizations

Membership in voluntary associations and clubs in which both immigrants and non-immigrants are members constitutes an important social link between them (Breton, 1964). Even voluntary associations established by the displaced persons play important integrative roles. They function as substitutes for the traditional social structures such as the family and kinship groups. They cushion separations from the family and community by providing a basis for mutual support and acceptance among members (Little, 1965; Radecki, 1979). They provide a setting where displaced persons meet and establish ties. Thus, voluntary organizations have an integrative function in displaced communities. However, this is often limited to internal integration. Thus the displaced persons who belong to a voluntary association avoids loneliness which otherwise could lead him/her to anomie. As Durkeim (1951) argues, social isolation and the subsequent lack of social control are conditions that favor anomic behavior.

According to Mekuria (1988) the voluntary organizations among migrants often have insular effects because they tend

to preserve the immigrants' feeling of "distinct identity" and may thereby retard the rate of social integration and assimilation into the host society. In line with this, Breton (1964: 196) is of the opinion that "the presence of formal organizations in the ethnic community sets out forces that have the effect of keeping the social relations of immigrants within its boundaries".

Studies show that associations are created and evolve through time to adapt and fit changing socio-economic and cultural environment. In this respect, scholars have contributed a lot on the growth, development and function of self-help or voluntary associations. Among others (Pankhurst and Endrias, 1958; Abu Lughod, 1961; Hammer, 1976; Mekuria, 1973; Koehn, 1973; Fecadu, 1974; Greenfield and Russell, 1990) have discussed the various aspects of voluntary associations in different social, cultural and economic contexts.

> For some scholars, the existence of various self-help associations in the changing socio-economic circumstances ensure adjustment and minimize social anomie at an individual level (Abu-Lughod 1961:3)

It is well known that voluntary associations are prevalent in most parts of Ethiopia in the forms of *edir, mahiber, senbete, ekub, debo, wenfel, etc.* Displaced persons who

are separated from their relatives also use these institutions as substitute for the extended family system, which offered them social, economic and psychological security in the home environment (Little, 1965:24).

Displaced persons and the host population usually belong to different voluntary associations because it is often difficult, if not impossible, for newcomers of different economic and cultural backgrounds to join the voluntary organizations of their hosts. Moreover the displaced persons see themselves as incapable of fulfilling the financial and social demands of such organizations.

In the subsequent part I will discuss how displaced people organize themselves in pursuit of different objectives as the way people organize themselves reveals something about the nature and dynamics of social relations in a given place and situation.

4.3.2.1. Kinship-based network

Some self-help activities are based on solidarity and reciprocity among relatives. In most societies currently thrown into internal conflict, kinship relations remain an important aspect of social organization. In some cases the

primary unit is the extended household (or members thereof), but often it extends to include lineages and clans who through their affiliation are obliged and expected to help relatives in need. Kinship-based networks are particularly good in mobilizing human and financial resources for particular purposes, and because they entail long-term involvement they may also appear particularly generous in their terms of exchange and assistance.

26% of my respondents indicated that they get most of the assistance needed from a family network established with close and distance relatives living in some other places usually during times of bereavement and wedding.

4.3.2.2. Community-based associations

Like other self-help groups building on social solidarity, community-based organizations have proved to be a source of strength with different purposes. Some primarily function to help community members when they face temporary personal crises related to, for example, the death of a family member. Others are savings and credit associations where members regularly contribute a small amount to a common fund which is then distributed to the members in rotation or when a particular need arises. A third kind of

community-based self-help group is the 'work-based' group, typically managed by a community leaders, who mobilizes community members for labor-intensive communal tasks such as clearing, digging ditches or constructing public facilities, etc.

The commonest institution of the aforementioned three among the displaced is *edir* which is a form of traditional social institution that is established by mutual agreement of community members in order to collaborate with each other whenever any member or their family members face adverse situation. The primary function of the *edir* among the displaced is taking care of the burial and consolatory activities when death occurs within members. There are four *edirs* in the community of the displaced on the basis of proximity and all of them consist of different ethnic and religious groups irrespective of gender. Each member contributes two *Birr* every month and the whole body of members elects the *edir* leaders, a group of five persons, every two years. The contributed money is used for the purchase of burial materials such as coffin, payment to the church for conducting burial ceremony and burial place and preparation of boiled grain of wheat and chickpeas customarily served to the *edir* members after burial at the

shelter of the bereaved. According to my respondent[12] unlike other *edirs*, this one cannot afford paying the bereaved a certain amount of money for reception of comforters. Instead the *edir* makes possible the preparation of ordinary meals and coffee for the first three days and serves it to minimum number of attendants, which is usually difficult to manage as many members of the displaced community see it as their chance of being fed.

Most of the respondents are members (95%) in one of the four *edirs* in the displaced persons community at Mekanissa-Qorre and all of them are entirely composed of the displaced community, however a few (3%) of the respondents indicated that they participate in other *edirs* of the host community. According to another respondent[13], some members of the non-displaced community in the vicinity visit the bereaved and contribute to the cause. The displaced, in return, also pay visit to the bereaved of the non-displaced community a process that serves as a contact point for both the displaced and non-displaced community.

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[12] Emebet Gilo,45, member of the Administrative committee of the Displaced people and treasurer of the Edir is mother of 5 children and lives with her unemployed husband. She is the breadwinner of the family with occasional income from her small children who are engaged in begging.

[13] Mulu Wolde Mariam,45, a widow with three children.

Those displaced persons who could not be members of one of the *edirs* due to mainly economic reasons have another kind of *edir* known as *ye'injera edir*, deriving its name from what the members contribute in kind namely *injera* [a kind of pancake structured thin and soft bread made up of *teff* flour] when a certain tragedy happens to one of the members in this *edir*. According to the regulation of the *edir* each member brings one *injera* each day for the first three days to the shelter of the bereaved where it would be served to the visitors or comforters.

Ekub is the other form of community-based institution where members regularly contribute a small amount of money to a common fund, which is then distributed to the members in rotation, or when a particular need arises. According to this study the majority of the participant of *ekub* are the young member of the community between the ages of 6 and 25 who save from their meager daily income. They usually meet in the evenings at local tearooms owned by the non-displaced community and keep the collected money by the nearby shopkeepers of the same, which plays the role of fostering mutual trust and hence social integration between the host and the displaced communities. Moreover *ekub* strengthens the intracommunal relationships as friends get

together from different corners and discuss common issues over cup of tea and glass of *tella* (local bear). During these sessions, they share one another's problems, devise business strategies, and contribute money for the sick or a disadvantaged friend. The small business vendors in the surrounding also establish, in such a manner, relationships with the displaced person, which creates a conducive situation for further socio-economic interaction.

4.3.3. Sport Clubs as Integrators

In his opening remark to the Olympic Aid Forum on February 9,2002, the UN secretary General Koffi Annan remarked:

> We have seen examples of how sport can build self-esteem, leadership skill, community spirit, and bridges across ethnic or communal divides. We have seen how it can channel energies away from aggression or self-destruction, and into learning and self-motivation (UNICEF 2002:31).

Pursuant to the preceding statement, one of the most important functions of sport clubs is bringing together people of different ethnic, economic and social backgrounds for a mutual interest i.e. physical exercise and recreation.

Most of the teenagers in the displaced community are participating in a sport club established in the vicinity

by an NGO called *Young Life* that has put up sport facilities and fields for both indoor and outdoor activities since January 2001. According to the 02 Kebele officials who supervise the activities, more than 200 young people come to the center every week, a number that largely comprises the displaced persons. Young people other than the displaced in the Wereda also use the facility and make regular matches with the displaced persons sport teams. This, the Kebele Officials explained, has reduced significantly the tension and occasional conflict between the young peoples of the displaced and the host communities.

4.4. Social Conflicts in the Displaced People Situation

All human relations involve integrative and conflicting processes. There is no consensus among sociologists on a specific definition of social conflict. Conflict theorists like Coser (1956) and Dahrendorf (1958) recognize the pervasiveness of social conflict and employ broad definitions. Hence, hostilities like war, competition, antagonism, tension, contradictions, quarrels, violence, opposition, deputes, etc., are invariably treated as aspects of conflict in sociological discourse (Mekuria,

1988:188). In short, conflict is considered as " any social situation or process in which two or more entities are linked by at least one form of antagonistic interaction" (Fink, cited in Turner, 1978:183).

Conflict resolution is conceived as an aspect of integration. Here conflict resolution is mainly regarded in terms of adjustment and accommodation between antagonists and not in terms of the victory of one unit, group or class over another (Ibid.,189). The assumption suggests a dialectical relationship between conflict and integration. Mazrui, cited in Mekuria, (1988:189) pointed out the role of conflict on the integration of plural societies in Africa in the following words:

> Where conflict plays a crucial part is in moving from a relationship of contact to a relationship of compromise, and then from compromise to coalescence. It is the cumulative experience of conflict resolution, which deepens the degree of integration in a given society (Mazrui, 1969:335).

4.4.1. Types of Conflicts Prevalent in the Displaced Persons' Community

On the basis of information gathered from respondents and the 02 kebele officials the commonest types of conflicts

apparent among the displaced can be categorized into three: intra-household conflicts, inter-household conflict and intercommunity conflicts.

4.4.1.1. Intra-household conflicts

This is the commonest type of conflict in the displaced community constituting 41% of the all types of conflicts. The major ones here are between grown up children and parents, between spouses, among adult members of the family and between a single parent and a cohabiter. Such conflicts escalated to an extent of manslaughter where an instance of a husband killing his own wife is recorded.

These conflicts usually emanate from such varied basis as indiscreetness on financial issues where children hide some of their gains from parents, disloyalty of spouses to their partners and misbehaviors of grown up children.
Such conflicts have resulted in divorce, family disintegration, mental illness, and children evacuating home for the street and hence escalation of juvenile delinquency, streetism, prostitution and other kinds of social anomie.

4.4.1.2 Inter-household conflicts

These are conflicts that usually occur among households in the displaced communities commonly neighbors. Their occurrence is relatively less (25%) compared to the other types of conflicts. Competition for spaces for an outdoor kitchen, garbage disposal and offence on ones children from grown up or adult members of the neighboring household are some of the major causes for such conflicts. These conflicts usually result in temporary isolation of a household from the neighboring ones risking access to, for instance, earthen baking pans (*ye'injera mitad*) usually shared among four to five households.

4.4.1.3 Inter-community conflict

Inter-community conflicts are conflicts that occur between members of the displaced persons and the host community. Such conflicts usually occur in groups where the young members of the displaced community fight with a group of young people in the same *kebele* or other *kebeles*. These conflicts usually begin at public schools where children of the respective communities go or sometimes at sport fields where football teams from the same community make matches.

These conflicts have variegated causes, the major areas being economic and behavioral incompatibilities between members of the two communities.

On the economic front the displaced persons are blamed by the host for inflicting pressure of demand on supplies including transportation and price escalation on commodities. Their unsightly, makeshift settlement in the municipality's second grade residential area, moreover, has brought a reproach from the official residents who otherwise would like the mushrooming of their own type of mansions towards the aesthetic decency of the neighborhood.

In addition, there are minor causes such as frustration on the part of the displaced persons and xenophobic tendencies on the part of some members of the host society.

According to an investigation made by the researcher in two selected schools[14] in the vicinity of the displaced community, about 80% of the conflict that occurred in the school compound during the last five years are the ones that took place between the displaced students and the non-

[14] Gena Secondary School and Kefitegna 23 Comprehensive High Schools are the two high schools in Wereda 23 where the majority of the displaced grown up children between the ages of 14-25 go.

displaced ones. Some of the authority figures in both schools commented that the conflicts usually arise from certain kind of inferiority complex that predominantly suffered by the displaced community:

> Any sort of look, speech or act might be misinterpreted by the students from the displaced community as something demeaning them and provokes a verbal and usually physical attack.

The aforementioned authorities further indicated that there were instances where teachers were severely beaten by students from the displaced persons' community both in classrooms and off school grounds which, in the fullness of time resulted in a laissez-faire or hands-off attitude of teachers towards classroom management.

4.4.2 Dispute Settlement and Conflict Resolution among the Displaced Persons' Community

Among the displaced persons, a dispute does not generally involve serious institutional problems, and it can be handled through bargaining or arbitration. People can disagree on income, kitchen space and other matters in ordinary social space. This type of problems occurring in a normal relationship can be settled by finding compromise solutions.

According to information from a focus group discussion with the administrative committee of the displaced persons, the community utilize two major types of conflict resolution practices: The first and commonest being mediation through elderly people from the displaced persons' community and who are recognized for their experience and skill in this regard particularly for the first two kinds of conflicts.

The other is through an institution that came to be known as *stetita tibka* [Amharic for security Force] that consists of all the able bodied male and female members of the community who patrol the settlement on a regular basis day and night on turn. The *stetita tibeka*, among other duties has the responsibility of checking on the peace and security of the neighborhoods, maintaining order and summoning the *Wereda* police in situations beyond its capacity. According to the abovementioned group of respondents, there were frequent instances of inter-community conflict that demanded the intervention of police force that detained the dissenters.

Chapter Five

The Experience of Displaced Children

5.1 Introduction

Studies show that more than any segment of the displaced or refugee community, children and women are forced to bear the scars of conflicts they had no part in creating (UN, 2000:45).

More than 74 % of the displaced population at Mekanissa-Qorre camp consists of children under the age of 18 who have suffered the ill effects of conflict. On the other hand, children often play a crucial role in household survival strategies in times of war and forced displacement, and their experience is therefore very much intertwined with that of adults. However, there are issues which make it valid - and, indeed, important - to consider the particularities of the experience of displaced children as the experience of displacement during childhood comes at a delicate time in life, when children are constructing their personal, family and community identities; and second, conditions of modern conflict and displacement

the care of older siblings or neighbors, which may adversely affect child health (Eltigani, 1995:59).

The irregularity of food supply in all phases of displacement and at times its total absence for a long period coupled with invariability renders a high risk of malnutrition to children than to any sector of the displaced community giving rise to their susceptibility to disease and hence increased rate of mortality. Pursuant to the data from the administrative committee of the displaced people, the largest part (56.3%) of the deceased members of the community during the last ten years consists of children under ten.

According to the information from 92% of respondents in this research the most acute problem encountered has been shortage of food supply. Most of them eat once a day usually in the evening, a time when they get enough alms in kind and/or in cash to enable them buy processed food. Children, with regard to provision of food have no special consideration in the family. The same kind of food item usually *injera beberbere [injera with bare pepper powder]* is served to all members of the family young and adult and of course with smaller portion to children than adults. At

times rotten bananas [which could be bought cheaper from fruit peddlers on the street] would serve a family's dinner with loaves of bread if available.

5.2.2. Separation and Loss

Circumstances around the time of flight render separation of family members a common occurrence. This is a problem faced by displaced persons of all ages, but the capacities of younger children for tracing other family members are clearly limited. The problem of unaccompanied minors as a consequence of military action and /or mass population movements has become a major issue in assistance efforts for refugee population (Ressler *etal.*,1988). Superimposed upon all other aspects of loss associated with leaving one's home and familiar surroundings is the fact that children may increasingly find themselves separated from family and/or other close relative. For many children displacement involves major disorientation and disruption of familial relationships, with potential threats to social and emotional development (Tolfree, 1996)

More than 39% of the children in this study have lost one of their parents (commonly their fathers) during preflight

and flight periods. And 17% are separated from their parents in the post flight period due to various reasons.

5.2.3. Traumatic Experience

Displaced children are, especially during the pre-flight and flight phases, demonstrably vulnerable to violent or threatening experience that cannot be readily assimilated or integrated into the basic assumptive world of the child (Raundalen and Dyregov, 1991).

As indicated in the previous chapter, apart from the disruption of normal life and suffering associated with the conflict, displaced children and their families in this study have been traumatized by this experience. This continues to be manifested in several ways. They do not eat well and are moody and are also fearful and experience nightmares and difficulty in concentration at school; they miss friends and old school activities, they worry about their future as well as that of their parents. Workinesh Zeleke[15], 13, tells her experience as follows:

> I do not remember how I came to this place, as I was small by then. But I know the hardships we

[15] Workinesh Zeleke, 13, is a displaced female child leaving with her widowed mother whom she support through an income she gets by selling napkins and sometimes begging. Workinesh has three sisters and a brother.

experienced here in Mekanissa-Qorre: sleepless nights due to an empty stomach; harshness of some people who want sexual favors for the alms they give and many other ugly memories enduring in my mind but which I never want to remember…

5.2.4. Loss of Access to Education

More than 35% (about 17) of the displaced parents in the study in the community did not send their children to school because of mainly economic reasons. These children are unable to attend school because their parents cannot afford to buy school material and uniforms. Moreover, the children are obliged to work to support themselves and their families.

Table 5.1 *Reasons given by displaced parents for not sending their children to school.*

Reasons	%
Unable to buy school materials	22.8
Child Working	67.1
Health	8.9
Total	99.8
	17

Source: Researcher's survey (December 2002)

5.3 Adjustment of Displaced Children to the New Environment

A number of factors arise to influence, positively and negatively, a displaced child's adjustment in a new environment. Adaptation depends not only on past experiences but also, as Ahearn, Loughry and Ager argue, on the supports and limitations, the assets and problems that a displaced child and his or her family encounter. These emanate from a variety of sources, especially the community, the family, and the child him- or herself (Ahearn *et al.*, 1999:229).

5.3.1 The community

DeMonchy (1990) highlights the importance of community supports in the lives of refugee children and their families. She addresses the importance of connecting the resettled family and their children with the resources they need to meet their needs and to become independent. Among these assets are (1) the availability of culturally appropriate social, health, and mental health services; (2) effective and accessible service delivery programs and (3) links with the displaced community through social, religious and cultural organizations.

In the case of the displaced children in Mekanissa-Qorre settlement, much of the aforementioned services are lacking. At the time of the study there is no single health institution let alone mental and social service in the displaced camp that consists of more than 4000 individuals. The only available social service is the Sport club established in a rented *Kebele* compound by an NGO named *Young Life* which encourages young people to spend their leisure in a meaningful recreation mainly sport. This has won the participation of hundreds of children from both communities. Moreover the Dombosco Catholic Church premises in the vicinity plays an integrative role through its open regular worship services and some social activities in which many displaced children participate.

An observation by the researcher for a period that goes a little over a year reveals that generally displaced children do not usually form friendship with children of the non-displaced community due to stigmatization held by the later.

5.3.2 The Family

The effectiveness of children's participation in life and society in later years depends upon the participation

encouraged at the start. Children rely for their healthy growth and development on three key elements: health, good nutrition and care- with 'care including protection and loving, responsive and stimulating environment (UNICEF, 2001:12). The responsiveness of a parent or caregiver is important, for example, in the intellectual and language development of children. It can improve children's nutritional status: even when malnourished children fed, those who have been given verbal and cognitive stimulation have higher growth rate than those who have not (Ibid).

The family mediates the stress of change, acculturation, bereavement and trauma. Displaced children cope better with these stresses when their families are stable, have adjusted well to a new environment, and provide their children with support, encouragement and love. The importance of family and support systems seems to pervade the successful adaptation of displaced children who have survived extreme violence and trauma (Fox et al., 1994:196).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the prevalence of family disintegration in the displaced community under consideration is too high to play the aforementioned

familial role in child's adjustment to the new environment. This has been exacerbated by the reality of predominance of female-headed families in which the traditional role of authority over children vested in the male head of the family (a father or a first degree relative) is eroded. Hence a household headed by a woman exercised little authority over its children. Coupled with their role as the breadwinners of the household, this has placed children in the role of managing and mediating the new situation for parents, and action that can rob the parents of their traditional roles and control. This is not without impact on the position of the head of the household as her prestige and status is in question. The inability to fulfill the role of provider can lead to loss of control (power) over the family, loss of status and self-confidence (Mekuria 1988:218). Moreover, this role reversal usually results in parent-child conflict that sends children to streetism.

5.3.3 The Displaced Child's Abilities

Personal identity is a factor that influences and interacts with displaced children's adjustment to a new environment and their health and mental health. Bromley (1988) demonstrated that the poor personal identity of Southeasts

Asian refugee adolescents in the USA is associated with tension-producing situations, value conflicts, interpersonal difficulties and trouble with coping. Correspondingly, a displaced teenager[16] in the Mekanissa-Qorre camp spoke about his feeling of identity:

> I do not know my father and his whereabouts. Of course, my mother used to tell me that he lives in Jinka after we came from Asmara. He has never came back to visit us since, even he didn't attend my mother's funeral. I have been told that I was born in Adikeyi a place I have never seen. You see I am a double looser: a man who doesn't know his own place of birth and his father either. Who am I then? I labor and live for these little kids whom I want to see independent one day, leading their own life. If it was not for them, I had been gone long ago to where I never turn back.

Another factor in successful adjustment is a displaced child's self-esteem. A Canadian study notes that 'self-esteem is an essential component of well-being and a predictor of achievement, including school success' (Beiser et al., 1995). A lack of self -esteem is interrelated with post-traumatic stress, peer stress, and depression (Duong tran, 1995).

[16] Beniam Seifu, 16, is an orphaned boy whose mother died three years ago due to pneumonia. He is a Weyalla [taxi-assistant] as a sole breadwinner for his two young brothers and a sister who go to school.

Like it is with the older members of the community the reductive terminology '*tefenakai*' used by the host community, is unwelcome and annoying to the displaced children too. Muluken Tesfaye[17], 14, relates his feelings as follows

> All I want is for the people to see me as they see other children in the community not as a stranger or *tefenakai*. But surprisingly enough even their children echoed the same word like their parents to refer to us. It resonates in my mind the sense of homelessness, parentlessness and poorness and a man destined for eternal wretchedness.

According to the finding of this study, a quarter of school going children quit school for various reasons among which is the feeling they have about themselves as failures who could not make it, an attitude they developed from what they saw happened to their elders who dropped schools and turned out to be soldiers during the Ethio-Eritrean war in 1998 and the remaining working as *Woyallas*[Minibus taxi assistants as callers and fee collectors].

Children as constituting the largest part of the displaced community need a special consideration and priority in any assistance and reparation activities. A displaced child's

[17] Muluken Tesfaye, 14, is young teenager who spends most of his time wandering in the settlement and its neighborhoods in search of labor works that he manages finding once in a blue moon.

experience with the traumas of war, violence, loss, separation and deprivation interacts with and markedly affects resettlement in a new environment which means adapting to a new customs, values, structures, institutions and lifestyles that present a host of change, challenges, difficulties and stresses. The assets and strengths of their community and family, as well as their personal abilities and resources facilitate positive adjustment of displaced children in the new area. They should be empowered with assertiveness and confidence and they will begin to think positively about their abilities.

Chapter Six

Summary and Conclusion

6.1. Summary

Despite the breadth of socio-economic scope of conflict-induced displacement in Ethiopia, it is not impossible to conclude that based on the size of available literature on the subject, much has not been done hitherto in our context. The scanty literature available focuses mainly on development and drought induced displacement and resettlement with a disciplinary isolationist or sectarianism approach that for the most part favors economic analysis and it is obvious that without due understanding of sociocultural issues the nature of forced population displacement would not be grasped. Moreover the bulk of this literature is mere governmental and non-governmental organizations' report and profile on the issue of forced displacement.

The displaced in this study have experienced a qualitatively different dynamic and logic for social change. A state of virtual anomie (the disintegration of norms) in its classic Durkheimian sense seems to prevail

among the displaced, and there is a high degree of uncertainty and helplessness influencing the pace and direction of change.

According to the finding of this study, the length of time spent in the situation of displacement and improvement in the living standard of the displaced people are negatively correlated i.e. as the former grows the later dwindles. The cause for such poor economic performance and prolonged dependency are complex and multifaceted. It arises primarily from the unfavorable economic condition. Ethiopia is one of least developed countries in the world. Its underdeveloped economic infrastructure is hardly capable of absorbing a massive influx of destitute within a foreseeable future. Moreover, the country has repeatedly experienced a devastating drought exacerbated by devouring war contributing much to the prolonged dependency.

The self-sufficiency of displaced persons' households was, in some respects, also thwarted by uncertainty about the future. Most of the respondents have a strong fear of another dislocation that emanates from a repeated threat of the local and central government authorities that left them unprepared to make the maximum effort to establish themselves economically. However, there is significant

number of hardworking people with a reasonable degree of entrepreneurship among the displaced people. Although most were in petty trade and other marginal economic activities, a large proportion of the study population was self-employed and struggling to make the best out of their situation.

The disintegration of social support networks that exist in this community subject to displacement has far-reaching consequences. It compounds individual losses with a loss of social capital, dismantled social patterns of social organization, able to mobilize people for actions of common interests and for meeting immediate family needs are difficult to rebuild.

This study has documented that the process of displacement undermines livelihoods in way uncounted and unrecognized by the government, and are part of the complex causes of impoverishment. In the case of the displaced persons in Mekanissa-Qorre, this study found various manifestations of social disarticulation, such as growing alienation and anomie, the loosening of kinship bonds, the weakening of control on interpersonal behaviour and lower cohesion in family structures. Marriages were deferred because feasts and gifts became unaffordable and hence the prevalence of

free premarital sex, prostitution and HIV/AIDS pandemic. Conditions are particularly bad for children. They are exposed to fatal epidemics and are undernourished. Moreover, they cannot learn the skills they would normally gain through working with their parents who are either deceased or unemployed. Many children do not effectively attend schools as they are required to help with family chores.

The Displaced persons' obligations towards and relationship with non-displaced relatives were battered and interaction between individual families was reduced. The degree of integration of the study population in the host society is low. Social interaction between both is limited as only a minority of the respondents particularly the younger ones had managed to establish interpersonal relations and friendships with their hosts. The rate of inter-marriage was negligible. Few of the displaced people belonged to host voluntary organizations. As a result, participation in group action decreased; leaders became noticeably absent from settlements; most of the communal feasts were discontinued and daily informal social interaction was severely curtailed.

The general attitude of the host society towards the displaced is accommodating. Nevertheless, this study showed that there is a discernible degree of hostility and stigmatization prevalent among the host community against the displaced people whom they label as vagabonds, prostitutes and burden to the community and the environment.

6.2. Conclusion

The characterization of sociocultural displacement as a condition of disintegration does not imply that the displaced are unable to give meaning to their existence and suffering as the capacity to draw on social or religious ideals, and on co-operative effort and solidarity, can bolster psychological and physical defense in even the most extreme situation. Nevertheless, their coping responses mask uncertainty, anxiety, and stress; the most important social control mechanism is not internalized values and norms but the threat of the superior power (be it the central or local government authorities).

Displacement has exposed the community to physical changes (new environment and shelter), biological changes (new diseases), political changes (loss of autonomy), economic

changes (new forms of employment), cultural changes (new norms) and social changes (new patterns of dominance). The rapid social change experienced by the displaced is becoming a process of alienation of abstraction from cultural roots that give symbolic meaning to existence and exercise social control and interaction. Undoubtedly such an abstraction has social revolutionary potential; but without conducive socioeconomic conditions, the consequences may instead be antirevolutionary and counterproductive.

Averting the destructive potential of displacement requires a strategy that entails more than evacuation as attempted a couple of times by the government. First, rehabilitation of the war displaced must be planned and implemented. Second, the strategy for rehabilitation should consider the country's socioeconomic reality. The rehabilitation strategy must be sensitive to the processes operating in the Ethiopians social formation and include a comprehensive plan to release the developmental potential of small producers. Here, the core question is surely the role of a social world embodying the capacity of survivor population to manage their suffering, adapt and recover. It is crucial that the government puts at center stage their own expressed

priorities- not least, calls for reparation and justice-and sees their knowledge as the basic frame of reference within which appropriate assistance projects are shaped. Social healing and the reconstruction of valued ways of life and institutions cannot be simply managed by non-displaced actors. The plan should not necessarily be geared toward restoring the pre-conflict social order; such an objective is unrealistic given the pace and extent of existing social change. Instead it needs to be based on the skills, resources, and potentials of small producers as well as on their consent and participation; it needs to make their benefit a primary objective. Such a course will make the development process itself a tool of peace. Moreover, in the right circumstances, the integration of displaced persons in Addis Ababa can work and can bring benefits for both the displaced and host communities.

The government and aid agencies are often unwilling to involve the displaced when decisions concerning their rehabilitation and their future are made. This is a clear reflection of alienation and marginalization. Perlamn noted that:

> Marginals do not share in the responsibilities and assignments that must be undertaken for the solution

> of social problems in general, and their problems in particular (1976:121)

There is some indication that the participation of displaced persons is only welcomed by the government when it only contributes to the latter's own agenda, for example securing vote in election.

To counteract the apparent marginalization of the displaced community, the necessary authority, responsibility and accountability would have to be established at the various administrative echelons. It is a must that representatives of the displaced be members at all levels.

The present government's decree that bans the direct intervention of voluntary aid organizations should be reconsidered, as it is important to integrate the role of voluntary relief organizations with a general service-provision policy for the displaced. Without humanitarian organizations to provide valuable services, the displaced population would otherwise go without. Nevertheless, more cooperation and less skepticism from local and central government authorities will improve the efficiency of those services. In this regard more must be done, and urgently.

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Appendix A

Families Displaced From Eritrea and Assab and Residing in Addis Ababa

No.	Name of the	No of Family Heads Shelter/Area	Total Population
1	Woreda 4 - Kebele 41*	3,848	18,432
2	Woreda 14 - Kebele 07*	2,207	10,187
3	Messalemia	378	1,693
4	Kolfe	347	1,450
5	Gulelie	237	1,331
6	Kechenie	69	325
7	Sanford	168	841
8	Kebena	68	355
9	Janmedda	326	1,474
10	Shola	194	942
11	Abware	214	1,040
12	Saris/Mekanissa	255	1,265
13	Lidetta	194	850
14	Kaliti	1,722	6,658
15	Kotobie	1,373	6,264
16	Qorre	980	4,420
	Total	**12,580**	**57,527**

Source: AA - RRC, Mimeo, January 1995.

*Receiving Relief Assistance out of Shelter.

Appendix B List of Informants

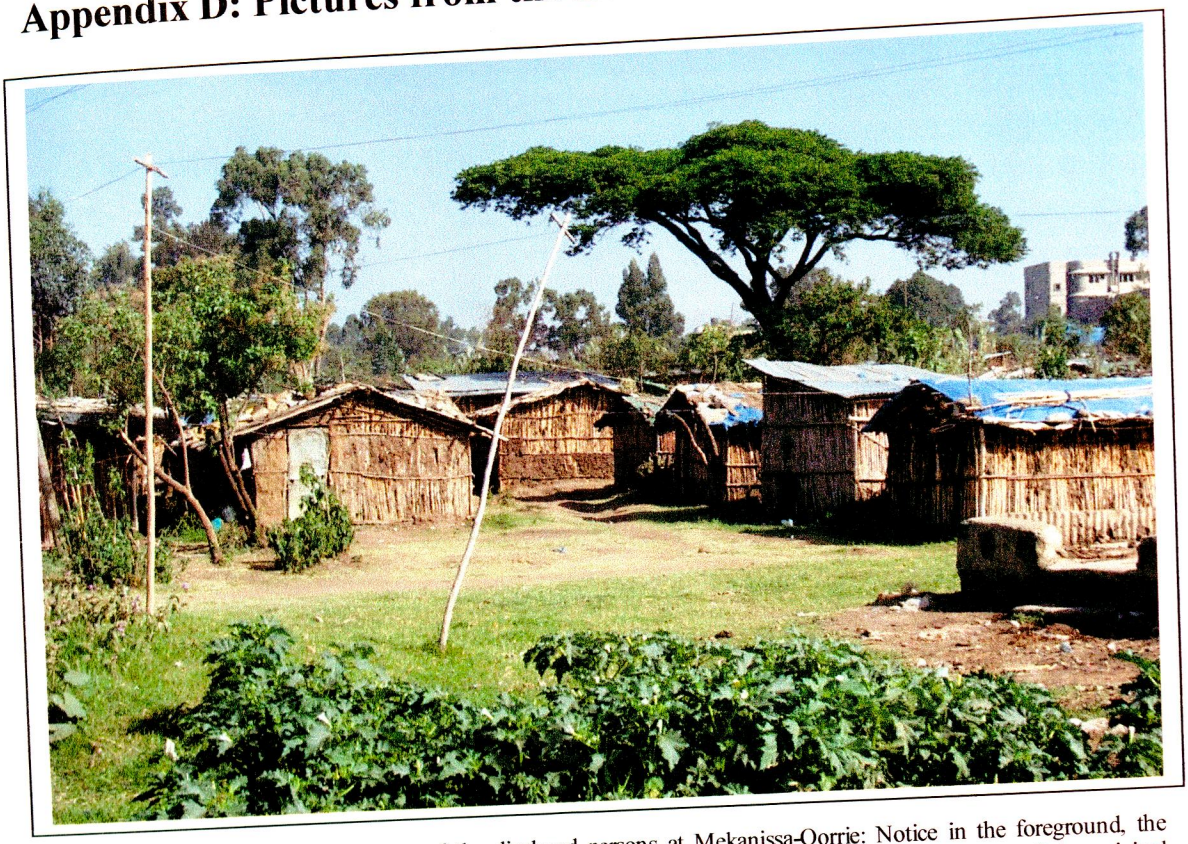
No	Name	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Household size	Ethnic Background	Duration of stay in Eritrea (years)
1	Tesfaye Eshetu	M	62	"	6	Amhara	44
2	Goie G/Yesus	F	41	Divorced	5	Tigre	6
3	Takle Tesfaye	M	37	Married	4	Amhara	-
4	Abayenhe Muluneh	M	35	Single	-	Oromo	24
5	Eshetu Asrat	M	40	Married	5	Oromo	15
6	Abrehit G/ Tsadik	F	45	Widow	5	Tigre	20
7	Berhanie Negera	M	32	Single	-	Oromo	22
8	Abeba Kidane	F	45	Divorced	6	Tigre	10
9	Hadas Haluf	F	43	"	4	"	32
10	Tsadikan Michael	F	37	"	9	"	12
11	Birrnesh G/ Medhin	F	39	"	6	"	13
12	Ruth Negusie	F	39	Married	5	"	17
13	G/ Egizabher G/ Mariam	M	47	"	8	"	31
14	Fikremariam Tadesse	M	43	Divorced	5	Amhara	16
15	Negesh Zewude	M	48	"	3	Oromo	30
16	Medhin G/ Medhin	F	57	Married	9	Tigre	4
17	Alefelinge Gebre	M	45	"	5	Amhara	13
18	Medhin Gedey	F	45	"	8	Tigre	11
19	Kidne G/ Michael	F	41	"	8	"	25
20	Etay Hishe	F	48	Widow	5	"	25
21	Medhin Anania	M	40	"	8	"	33
22	Alemitu Mengisti	F	45	"	6	Amhara	18
23	Almaze Gilaye	F	34	"	5	Eritrean	34
24	Letai G/ Kidan	F	35	"	5	Tigre	20
25	Asirat Kidane	F	38	"	5	Tigre	20
26	Genet Seleshi	F	36	"	4	Amahara	12
27	Tsigie G/ Hawariyat	F	38	Married	7	Tigre	36
28	Askale Tesfaye	F	38	Widow	6	Tigre	15
29	Terhas Asmelash	F	37	"	6	Eritrean	37
30	Elsa Tarekgne	F	38	"	5	"	38
31	Alem Mengeste-ab	F	37	"	4	"	37
32	Negesti G/ Medhin	F	27	"	5	"	27
33	Tsige Berhe	F	38	Widow	5	Tigre	30
34	Tshaynesh Reda	F	45	"	6	Tigre	20
35	Agoza Abebe	F	43	"	6	Tigre	24
36	Fantahun Belete	M	40	"	4	Amhara	17
37	Tsehaynesh Abera	F	45	"	5	Tigre	25
38	Rafera Jifar	M	52	Married	6	Oromo	17
39	Emebet Gilo	F	45	Married	7	Tigre	45
40	Kidane Dejene	M	35	Married	6	Wolaita	25
41	Shewaye Mitiku	F	40	Married	5	Tigre	20
42	Nigusie Ayele	M	45	Married	4	Amhara	21

Appendix C

List of Cases

No	Name	Sex	Age	Date
1	G/Mariam W/Gabriel	Male	39	12/12/02
2	Ayelu Asmelash	Female	40	12/12/02
3	Selamawit T/Tsion	Female	33	15/12/02
4	Aranshi Tekle	Female	13	16/12/02
5	Shawl Mulugeta	Male	56	19/12/02
6	Asmeret Haile	Female	41	19/12/02
7	Tibereh Zewdie	Female	43	19/12/02
8	Abrham Tadesse	Male	34	31/12/02
9	Fiyeri Ayalew	Female	15	31/12/02
10	Mulu W/Mariam	Female	45	03/01/03
11	Workinesh Zeleke	Female	13	03/01/03
12	Beniam Seifu	Male	16	03/01/03
13	Muluken Tesfaye	Male	14	11/01/03

Appendix D: Pictures from the field



Partial view of the squatter settlement of the displaced persons at Mekanissa-Qorrie: Notice in the foreground, the power lines stretched on ordinary sticks from the host community in the vicinity and remnants of the original vegetation of the area: Acacia[Lafto] in the right and young Croton Macrostachyus [Bekanissa] in the left at the background (April , 2003)

A young displaced girl bakes *injera* for the household in the out for there is no kitchen. Notice that she uses the cheap but hazardous *fagulo*[oil cake] for fire wood is an unaffordable and inaccessible (April 2003).

Peddling, one of the major informal economic activities practiced by the displaced women and children in particular (April 2003).

Sport, one of the social integrators. A field built by an NGO known as *Young Life-Ethiopia* in the vicinity of the displaced persons camp attracts weekly more than 200 young people from both the host community and displaced persons camp. Notice in the background, the mansions of the affluent host community as neighbors of the displaced (April 2003).